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DATA ENTERED

INSHA LITERATURE.

(in Persian)

— A critical study.

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Waheed Quraishi.

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# Transliteration.

ا a	س s	بھ bh
ب b	ش sh	پھ ph
پ p	ص s	تھ th
ت t	ض d	ٹھ th
ٹ t	ب t	جھ jh
ث th	ظ z	چھ ch
ج j	ع (a,i,u)	دھ dh
چ ch	غ gh	دھ dh
ح h	ف f	کھ kh
خ kh	ق q	گھ gh
د d	ک k	ہ h
ڈ d	گ g	و w, u
ذ dh	ل l	و
ر r	م m	نون غنہ n
ڑ r	ن n	الف مد a or aa
ز z	ی y, i	other vowel signs and diphthongs as:- i, u, e, o, ai, au.
ی y		

Nouns have been adopted with their usual pronunciation (e.g. Lahore, Delhi) except where the ordinary pronunciation was unsatisfactorily in correct e.g. Hirat (correct spelling.) Mughal (c.s. Mughul), Tughlaq (c.s. Tughluq), Lodi (c.s. Lodi).

## INTRODUCTION.

This thesis extends roughly over a period of seven centuries (starting from the death of Mahmud of Ghazna to the death of Aurangzeb i.e. 421 A.H. to 1118 A.H.) and covers the main currents and cross currents in the development of Persian Prose Literature in general and Insha Literature in Particular.

So far the topic has not received the attention it fully deserves. When I first started working upon the topic (Insha-a critical study) the word seemed to imply multifarious connotations. The term Insha, as explained by lexicographers stretched over a vast field of Literature and covered almost all its branches. While the two articles (perhaps the only two articles contributed to the topic so far (1)) Pointed to the technical application of the term, denoting state correspondence. The first defined it as "preparation of a document which is afterwards examined by the head of the office and drawn up in its final form with or without alteration---(it is also) Epistolography, the art of drawing up letters and documents". Thus widening its scope to all letters (official, non-official). The second one stressed its importance by saying that originally it was equivalent of Tarassul. But where were we to place the bulk of Nāth-r-i-Khayālī which was included almost always in books under the title Insha? With this unsolved puzzle I started the work, not actually knowing what I was about. In this very drawback lay my advantage. And after the strenuous years, now I feel the pleasure of presenting my endeavours in the form of a book. The term Insha has got double implication it denotes the theoretical as well as the practical side of the problem. It denotes the Art of Insha, as well as the Insha Literature. The first two chapters have been exclusively devoted to the first and the rest six chapters to the second. The first needs a brief introduction before it is taken up for study.

On its theoretical aspect it is synonymous with the problem of style in general especially when applied to emotive prose.

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Notes. (1) Enc. of Islam (Under Insha) and O.C.M., May, 1927.



The problem is intelligible if we take up Insha Literature first. Insha Literature consists of poetic prose. The old writers (paradoxically enough) wrote emotive prose without knowing the fact that they were doing so. Living beings cannot live without emotions, that was natural enough, but they could not perceive it----that was horrible no doubt, but unfortunately it was so. This has led to the confusion that prevails in the theory of style.

What is style after all ?

" All Style ", as defined by Raleigh " is gesture, the gesture of the mind and of the soul " (1) Again he says ", write, and after you have attained to some control over the instrument, you write yourself down whether you will or not. There is no vice, however unconscious, no virtue, however shy, no touch of meanness or of generosity in your character, that will not pass on to the paper" (2) This pious sermon of a philosopher believing <sup>in</sup> the mysteries of the soul does not lead us any where except that we express ourselves whether we care to do so or not. Mr. Read deserves our sympathy, rather than our scorn. His position is that of a half critic and a half psychologist. His conception of prose style is too dogmatic, too mathematical to be of any real use. His grouping of words is unhealthy and unscientific, the distinction between prose and poetry is much more superfluous. " Poetry is creative expression prose is constructive expression (3)" where does all this lead to ? To him this is all an affair of words. Style has been defined by him in negative terms (4) and surely it can lead us nowhere. " Style consists in the order and movement which we introduce into our thoughts", says Buffon.

- 
- Notes. (1) Raleigh p. 127.  
 (2) Ibid p. 128.  
 (3) Read p. X.  
 (4) Ibid p. XIII.

" All styles are only means of subduing the reader", is another solitary remark.

Out of this jungle of terrible oratory the only definition acceptable seems to be that of Murry who brings the word in its meaning closer to the word 'communication'. To him the two words communication and style are synonymous (1); the one denotes the process the other the entity.

The details of Murry's definition can be accepted but with slight modifications. All this requires some explanation.

✓ Literature can be classified into two viz. Vertical and horizontal. The first represents the basic quality of literature and determines the way in which we should try to approach it. This vertical division is divided into emotional and scientific. To put the whole matter in Richardian way we can say, "there are two ways of using the language, emotional and scientific". This vertical classification is followed by a horizontal one which consists of groupings as regards formal structure. Thus follows the division of prose and poetry and the subsequent classifications of drama, fiction, essay, correspondences etc.etc. The relation between these two classifications should always be kept in mind while judging literature. The vetopower (if we are allowed to use this term) rests with the vertical, because we very often come across pieces of literature perfect in technique and very often lacking in the basic quality of either the scientific or the emotional. We <sup>a</sup>label such pieces as poor. The word style covers both these classifications and suggests a theory that can analyse both.

✓ Our term Insha stands for the theory of style when applied to emotive literature. This can vaguely be gauged in the early rhymed prose (arabic) of the Khutbah and its inclusion of artifices at later stages under the name Maṣnū. But the difficulty is that Oriental minds did not generally recognize it in a theory well worked out and fitted together to form an harmonious whole. The Oriental system of Ma'ani, Bayan, and Badi (the names they give to different branches of their Rhetoric = theory of styles applied to both the scientific and emotive)

Notes.(1) So is the case with Abul Fadl see. Appendix. II.

had no clause for the preservation of content. The system of logic recognized 'ideas' only. Hence the emotions could be appreciated in their visible forms only and this meant 'ideas'. Thus, reveries, manipulations, dreams, free association and violent expression of emotions were either 'actions' or 'ideas'. The philosophic speculation reasoning etc.etc. were 'ideas' (Khayal) so were 'emotions'. The difficulty was further aggravated by the defect of the theory of value itself.

The Muslim writers (as their books on Rhetoric would show) confused 'ends' with the 'means', communication with value. They thought language to be the criterion of value. For this they have a justification in the political and economic structure of their society. But this justification of the position need not go to the extent of justifying the attitude itself. Due to this confusion language became all important in emotive prose as well. The formal structure the horizontal division was stressed to the negligence of the vertical.

The scope of emotions was further restricted by the theory of style which stressed the reader and neglected the writer, which believed in 'collectivism' to the negligence of 'individualism'. Imitation the off-spring of the curriculum was an other demon. That is why out of the literature of seven centuries if we were to make an anthology of emotive prose, it would hardly run to two hundred pages. The emotive language is there, but emotions are not there.

The theory of style has two <sup>categories</sup> ~~categories~~ of names 'Insha' vaguely meant the application of the theory to the Khutbah, Maqamah, reflective prose, reveries, manipulations etc.etc. where as the terms 'Ma'ani, Bayan and Badi' represented the Vertical division (emotive and scientific). So the theoretic side of Insha is connected on one side with the material given in books on the Art of Insha and on the other side with our whole system of Ma'ani, Bayan and Badi.

It is a grave fact that the endeavours of classical writers have been confined to classifying each branch of literature and making such observations which have no assignable results. They spent most of their time in finding justifications for elementary matters forgetting totally that these minor points of difference are not ends in themselves. Reality cannot be achieved by bits, one has to be a



Gestaltian if one wants to achieve the goal. Classifications are only starting points (artificial assumptions) means for further ends, and no critic can afford to indulge in 'by-products' if he is at all serious about his profession. Most of the details elaborated in books of Ma'ani, Bayan and Badi are irrelevant, because they are not in any way connected directly with the major issue--it was expected that the system will facilitate writers to achieve perfection of style. Is the old theory of style helpful for writers in this respect? The answer is probably in the negative. The theory was not helpful. There are certain excellent pieces indeed but taking into account the seven centuries the amount of first rate emotive literature is very meagre. Had our writers recognised emotions clearly, had their theory of style helped them in this respect, there would have been less imitators, less masters of a static conception of style.

After setting aside the scientific literature our purpose becomes two-fold ((i) to determine the value of the prose pieces known as Insha (Literature) (ii) and to determine the relation of communication with value in each case).

✓ Some writers of Insha have included history in the scope of Insha but it has been included during the periods of deterioration (e.g. Aurangzeb Period) and what led to misconception was the theory of style itself which classed all literature into Matbu and Maṣnū and laid stress on the linguistic aspect of style overlooking the basic. It may be argued that History works abound in emotions and the examples can be cited to some length from Wassaf's history (2) and also from that of Barani (3) but my arguments against it are: (i) History has suffered much on its factual side at the hands of such historian, who (unfortunately) were Munshis as well, (ii) and that the emotive strain is very rare and occasional and that too never sustained and kept alive through out a single volume.

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Notes. ~~(1) Ma'ani~~ (Ma'ani) #-----

(2) On the sack of Baghdad. see. Natharah p. 76-87.

(3) On the death of the king. see. Barani p. 369 sqq.



There is perhaps only one instance where it has been kept alive throughout (i.e. Waqai of Nimat Khan Ali). This book has been included in Insha books and has been dealt with in chapter viii.

For the purpose of analysis of individual authors I owe much to the authors mentioned in the bibliography. The general outline has been borrowed from I.A. Richard's (Principle of Literary Criticism and philosophy of Rhetoric). I thought it advisable not to accept his "impulses theory". For fear of misunderstanding Richards has given up the ordinary language and has tried to become (as the old idiom goes) too technical I have given up his round-about way of expression for the same.

The division of Insha literature into periods may possibly lead some to the conclusion that the writer has laid artificial barriers. No such distinction, they say, ever exists in literature, because literature is and has always been organic whole. The distinction is artificial no doubt, but it is in no way a barrier, because it does not replace the 'organic-whole' view, it rather supports it. The division is necessary when we realize that the mere setting of "artificial frame" gives prominence to factors and forces which might otherwise have been overlooked. These divisions are only relative and are not 'water tight compartments'. In order to remove this doubt, the present writer had freely used the old tact of references and cross-references thus making his work a consistent whole.

The difficulty confronting the present writer was that no exhaustive history of Persian Literature has yet been written. There are gaps of facts and interpretation, making the work of research scholars difficult. Thus for a single topic the spade work in such other fields also becomes necessary which are only indirectly related to the main. Moreover there are no economic, social and religious histories on Persia which may facilitate scholars in supplying them with the raw material. Thus lack of enquiry in different fields of Persian literature leads them to much unnecessary spade work. The books, Browne's literary history of Persia, Dr. Shafaq's literary history, Jalal Hamai's book, Levy's short history ~~history~~, Read's history and Story's catalogue are the only Literary histories.

They are helpful for beginners but of little practical use for advanced studies, because not only all these touch different branches of literature briefly but they lack method, presentment, interpretation of facts and criticism. These are anthologies cum biographical dictionaries. Browne's work is out of date and helpful only at some points. The change in method and presentment in each volume has made it a bit inconvenient (1). These historians (for primarily they are historians) present only half of the show by omitting out of their discussions, those writers who flourished in Indian sub-continent (2) thus leaving out unexplored a vast field of Persian literature. The whole range of action and interaction of literary social and political movements in Khurasan, Transoxiana and India have gone un-noticed. The only compilation on this topic is Ali Akbar Shahabi's *Rawabit-i-Adabi-i-Iran-o-Hind*. The book is defective and not free from preoccupations and prejudices. An other work *Sabk Shanshi of Bahar* (in three volumes) required<sup>A</sup> a special mention. The thesis had already been completed when I received this book. Therefore it was thought necessary to mention the relevant material in Appendix. II. The book is useful for it covers a vast field of Persian prose (including India born writers as well) and is surely an advance on Azad's *Shakhundan-i-Fars*. It professes to be a history of Persian prose style but does not go beyond arranging grammatical peculiarities of Persian language at different stages of its development.

Now let us revert to the Thesis. I have tried to bring out the action and interaction of different forces (economic, social, political etc.etc.) on the super-organic along with the contact between Iran and India and its subsequent influence on literature in its different branches. This treatment has brought to light certain new facts.

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Notes. (1) Bartold (Iran) p -124-

(2) Throughout the Thesis where the word India is used, it denotes the prepartitioned Sub-continent of India and not India as we now know it.

- (1) The 'collective' aspect of muslim society as opposed to individual.
- ✓(2) The action of economic forces on the deterioration of Persian literature during the Harat School period.
- (3) The link between the religious policy of Shah Abbas, Sultan Salim and Akbar.
- (4) The chief cause of the downfall of the Delhi Sultanate was over-population and defective famine policy.
- (5) Indian writers disliked Mu'ammah during the period of Akbar.
- (6) The influence of Khanqahs during the reigns of the successors of Timur.
- (7) The blending of the spiritual and the sexual during the Seljuqs.
- (9) The Ghazi Movement (see Appendix.II.) and its far reaching influences on the muslim countries.
- (10) The analysis of the minds of different authors and its influence on the development of their styles.
- ✓(11) The causes of the popularity of involved prose in India.
- (12) The popularity of Hafiz and Rumi in India and its influence on the age of Jahangir and Shah Jahan.
- (13) The political and social reasons for the Obscure style of Bedil.
- ✓(14) The element of Irony during the reign of Aurangzeb.

Insha literature (especially its branch, correspondence) is very helpful from the point of view of a student of history. The importance has only recently been realized. Azad Bilgrami (in his Serw-i-Azad was among those who used private correspondence for the biographical material of different poets. Muhammad Husain Azad was another to do the same in his Darbar-i-Akbari, Shibli's Shir-ul-Ajam refers to the importance of Char-bagh and Latifa-i-Fayyadi at one or two points. Out of the present day historians Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar used these documents for the Administration of the Mughuls and also for the history of Aurangzeb, S.R. Sharma, in his "a Bibliography of Mughul India", has devoted full one chapter to this topic, though his list does not include all the material yet it is very useful and informative, I.L. Sirivastava has also made use of correspondence in his two monographs on the kings of Oudh, Sherwani traced the whole of Mahmud Gawan's biography and his conquests from the Riad-ul-Insha,



I.H. Quraishi has based much of his information regarding the Delhi Sultanate on Tahir Daccani's letters and also <sup>on</sup> that of Ain-ul-Mulk Mahru's correspondence, Ibn-i-Hasan has also tried to use letters for his information on the administration of the Delhi Sultans, Ishwari Pershad has derived his material from Ain-ul-Mulk, Rashid Ahmed has pointed out the importance of Brahman's State correspondence with the Rana of Udhepur on behalf of Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb's letters have been used for his biography as well as the analysis of his age by Najib Ashraf, along the correspondence of Tahir Wahid---which throws fresh light on the history of India.

S.M. Abdullah's book presents biographical material of the Hindu writers derived from their letters, the present writer worked out the biography of Muhammad Hasan Qatil from his Letters, the editor of Yadgar (issue 9,10) derived his information about the illitracy of Sultan Sanjar from the court documents preserved in the Leningrad MS, and Browne derived much of his information from Faridun Bey's collection. There is ample material in Insha works <sup>for</sup> the history of India and Iran, but as history does not fall within the scope of our thesis therefore this topic need not detain us long.

A small book (like the present one) must necessarily be full of omissions but <sup>I</sup> we hope this general outline of the subject will help to explain its importance in Persian Literature.

Waheed Quraishi.



THE ART OF INSHA .

Chapter I

THE ART OF INSHA .

INSHA) The word Insha as explained in the dictionaries does not take the readers too far (1). All that we can

## Notes:

(1)

انشاء - بالکسر - آفریدن (to create)، آغاز کردن (to start) و از خود چیزی گفتن

(to say something instinctive) نام علمی است که دانسته شود بهر آن ترکیب عبارات نشود اصطلاح

علم عربیت و (در ؟) مطلقاً طلب میکند احوال صدق و کذب نداشته باشد. و اوقاف آن بسیار است. بجز آن امر و نهی و تمنا و قسم و غیره - (غیاث اللغات)

\* a sentence of which the speaker can neither be affirmed nor denied i.e. a sentence of which the speaker expresses a desire, order or prohibition.

انشاء - آفریدن. آغاز کردن و چیزی گفتن (مقتضی اللغات)

انشاء - بالکسر و ثین مجرب - بوئیدن (to smell) - بوی چیزی یا بوی (to have a smell)

و این اصطلاح مأخوذ از "نشی" است و معنی آفریدن و آغاز کردن و از خود چیزی گفتن و نام علمی است که دانسته شود بهر آن ترکیب عبارات نشود اصطلاح علم عربیت و مطلقاً طلب میکند احوال صدق و کذب نداشته باشد. این مأخوذ از "انشاء" و بالفاظ کردن مستعمل است - (فرشک آینه راج)

انشاء (ع) بالکسر - عبارت گفتن - دل سے کوئی بات پیدا کرنا - عربی میں آخر میں ہمزہ ثقیلاً فارسیوں نے بجز ہمزہ استعمال کیا - ۱ - عبارت - ۲ - طرز تحریر - ۳ - ذوق و بے جوشی میں خطوط اور قواعد خط و کتابت لکھے ہوں - (نور اللغات)

انشاء - آفریدن و آغاز کردن و از خود چیزی گفتن ... مولف عرض کند کہ بالکسر لغت عربی است - فارسیان این را معنی عبارت و طرز تحریر استعمال کنند و برای معنی مصدری یا مصدر فرس ترکیب سازند کہ در ملحقات آید و در کلام استادان معنی انشاء کردن معنی پیدا کردن سم آمده ... (اردو) دل سے کوئی بات پیدا کرنا - عبارت - طرز تحریر ... انشاء کردن : استعمال - معنی دانستن شدن است ... (اردو) لکھا جانا - انشاء کردن ... ۱ - معنی مطلق نوشتن است ... ۲ - معنی نوشتن احوال سم آمده است ... ۳ - معنی پیدا کردن - قائم کردن سم ... (اردو) ۱ - لکھا - ۲ - کسی احوال کا تحریر کرنا - ۳ - پیدا کرنا - قائم کرنا ... (آصف اللغات)

gather from these is that the word Insha has been derived from Nash *نشأ* or *نشى* meaning to create and to originate. It has got three technical significances: namely the logical sense, the grammatical sense and the sense connected with literature. This third sense, as we shall note at a later stage, is nearer our own conception of the term which we are out to explain and analyse in this thesis. It is vast like the term "letters" in English, which includes epistolography, Drama, Poetry, Essays etc.etc. (1). ✓

DEFECTS ) The difficulty here arises from the fact that the  
INSHA )  
KITABAT & ) word Insha includes both composition and transcription.  
DABIRI. )

Similar is the case of the word 'Kitabat'. These occupations, even in Pre-Islamic Arabia, very often, were combined by one and the same person. The word 'Dabir' of the Sasanian period also embodies the double significance (i.e. that of transcription and composition). So it is difficult at places to distinguish whether a writer is an 'author' or only a 'copyist'. In our own days, both these words (Katib & Munshi) are being used for a calligraphist (2). The word Dabir in Iran is being used for a 'school teacher'.... in India this word fell into disuse probably during the Lodhi period (3). Setting aside the common mistake of using one word for two different occupations (authorship & the position of a copyist) we can safely revert to the word 'Insha'.....to create (a mental process) and to originate (again a mental process) (4). It seems that the technical term of 'Insha' has to do something with its original meaning of being something creative, something original, something novel.

- 
- Notes: (1) See 'Websters New International Dictionary of the English Language' (second Edition) Vol. I. p.1419.  
(2) This application of the word Katib to the calligraphists is real, but of the word Munshi some people hold of its being metaphorical.  
(3) The word 'writer' also suffers from the same defect.  
(4) I do not consider 'transcription' a mental process, because it is so only in an indirect way. Transcription is mainly a 'habit of mind' and a parallel instance can be found in 'touch system' (of the type writing).



3.

TWO ) One of the lexicographers (already mentioned  
 IMPLICATIONS) in a foot note) has divided the term into two i.e.  
 OF THE WORD )  
 INSHA. ) a book containing letters or rules and regulations  
 for that. To explain it, the lexicographer seems to assert that  
 the term means 'Epistolography and principles and guiding rules  
 of Epistolography'. But as we shall see later on the view  
 (especially its second part) is only partially correct.

INSHA AS ) Now to look at the matter from an other angle  
 INTERPRETED) (that of studying Ms. catalogues of different  
 IN )  
 CATALOGUES.) European and Indian libraries and also by including  
 the contents of all the books known under the title 'Insha' ) it  
 seems to consist of Marthiahaenathr. Tarifāt (praise of kings),  
 Sifat (imaginative fantastic descriptions of cities, gardens etc.  
 etc ) Mubahathat (discussion) Khutabat (Prefaces of books), Ikh-  
 titamiyat (concluding notes), Maktubat (all varieties of letters  
 Ruat, Mufawat, Ikhwanīyat, Shuqqahjat), Maktubat-i-Shahi (royal  
 correspondence including Tawqiat (and all its varieties, Farāmin,  
 Manshurāt, Nishanat, Ahkam, Amthilah, Parwanchah etc.etc.) Sanads  
 (deeds) Tamassukat. Nikahnamas, Araid (applications) Taqariz,  
 Muahadat (treaties), Maqamat (which is nothing but mubah-that  
 Khutabat and Munazarat), Munazart (or Mubahathat, as already  
 inserted), Naql (short anecdotes like those in Gulistan, and  
 Baharistan), Kitabah-i-Iwan, Alwah-i-marqad, Khutabat (sermon) and  
 rules and regulations for good writing (prose writing).

THE ART OF ) This brings us to the conclusion that the  
 INSHA & THE )  
 INSHA LITERATURE.) word Insha has got two meaning I. it is applied  
 to certain rules and regulations, used for the production of good  
 prose pieces, the scope of the subject matter of which, is to be  
 determined by the above mentioned list of topics; II. The total  
 result of the application of these rules results in the production  
 of a kind of literature, the nature of which we are now attempting  
 to fix. Of these two, the theoretical and the practical aspects  
 of the problem, I shall call the first as the Art of Insha and  
 the second as Insha Literature to evade confusion.

WHAT INSHA ) Taking the second one first (Insha Literature), it  
 LITERATURE )  
 IS NOT. ) is very difficult to set an exact line of demarcation

between the 'kind of' literature grouped (by the ancients) under the title Insha and the rest of Persian prose literature, because the history of the development of this branch of literature(Insha Literature) has undergone many changes with in the seven centuries covered by this thesis. All that we can do is to depict what Insha Literature is not. We shall begin with entities reckoned in the East as "Anti Isha"; for by doing justice to the characteristics of this, we ought to arrive at certain negative conclusions of fundamental importance. No characteristic of 'Anti insha Literature' can possibly be a peculiarity of 'Insha Literature'. It cannot be of the essence of Insha. Not until we have discovered what Insha is not, shall we attempt by seeking its essence in universally accepted types to discover what it is. When in those types we have found common characteristics not to be found in Insha Literature we shall have discovered its distinguishing character. Surely it is not Theology, Jurisprudence, History, Philosophy, Travels, Memoirs, Topography, and Geography. It does not even consist in 'toto' of all the Sufistic literature. It does not comprise Encyclopaedias, Ethics, Politics, Mathematics, Astronomy, Natural History, Medicine, Farriery, Falconry, Alchemy, Cabalistics, (books on) paintings, Architecture, Dictionaries, Grammar, Prosody, Calligraphy, (Collection of) proverbs, Anthology and Colectanca. When we analyse all these branches of 'craftsmanship', we come to the conclusion that all of them (anthologies we shall have to exclude) belong to the category usually known as 'sciences'. The science "must give a complete account and an orderly, well arranged account of its subject keeping the facts in view, and never running off into mere speculation" (1).

---

Notes: (1) Tchenet. (A Primer of Psychology) Chapter . I. p. 2.  
 (~~The italics are mine~~).

5.

INSHA LITERATURE) So Insha Literature is not 'science'. Its  
 & )  
 EMOTIONAL PROSE ) subject-matter is not to be treated in any way,  
 LITERATURE. )  
 as scientific. It is to be dealt with as emotional. Therefore  
 the scope of Insha Literature should be determined on these lines  
 only, and we should avoid (or at least we should try to do so)  
 all that does not strictly form a part of this branch of Literat-  
 ure, and all that has so far (especially by the Indian writers  
 after Aurangzeb) gone wrongly under this heading (Insha Literat-  
 ure), merely because it could not form a part of any other branch  
 of Literature. I have excluded from it the Sanadat and other  
 'dry as dust' 'fill in the blanks' sort of literature. But the  
 topic will include nearly all the diplomatic correspondence and  
 much of private correspondence which is for the most part emotion-  
 al in character. These documents, however, will not be judged as  
 historical documents. Their value will only be ascertained as  
 emotional prose pieces. The attitude that exists in these prose  
 pieces is emotional. ✓ To discuss such a literature as either  
 History or Biography would be to forget its basis altogether.  
 Insha Literature supplies historical material no doubt, it suppli-  
 es even the historical data, but to stress this element would be  
 as if we were using Shakespeare's plays not as plays but as docu-  
 ments of sociological import. The absurdity of such an approach  
 needs no comment. ✓

THE ART OF) ✓ So far we have been looking into the matter only  
 INSHA. )  
 with a scanty information collected from catalogues  
 and dictionaries and from the contents of manuscript copies sold  
 and circulated under the title Insha. Now we shall have to look  
 into the matter from its sociological and historical aspects. But  
 it will in no way include any remark about the 'historical value'  
 of either the Insha Literature or the Art of Insha. All that we  
 shall be doing would be to asseverate the position of Insha as a  
'craft' (Art of Insha). We shall trace the history of such words  
 as Insha, Munshi, Dabir, Dabiri, Katib, Kitabat, Tarassul,  
 Dawatdari, Diwan-i-Insha, Diwan-i-Tarassul, and the Diwan-i-Risa-  
 lat.



Thus by fixing the technical meaning of these words in the old administrative as well literary order, we hope to grasp the spirit of the problem. After discovering the connecting links between Insha Literature and the Art of Insha we shall pass on to the second major aspect <sup>imp</sup> e.g. What is the nature of the Art of Insha? How far this Art helps us in fixing the scope of Insha Literature? What were the general principles for Insha? How far the Art of Insha was a source of advancement and how far an obstacle to the general out-put of Insha Literature? ✓

SASANIAN ) Dabir (Dipi-bar) is a compound word, where  
STATE )  
CORRESPONDENCE ) in Dipi means a sign, a line or an art and bar  
& )  
THE TECHNICAL ) a possessor (of writing) (1). This throws  
TERMS OF DABIRI.)

enough light on the fact that the position of a copyist and that of an author in Pre-Islamic Iran was originally one. But as a technical term (2) used officially in the Sasanian State Organisation, it was equivalent to

Notes: (1) Iran-namah of 'Abbas Mahrin (Ms) vol. 4,5.

(2) Dabir: (English Tr. of the words is mine).

نویسنده و منشی... یعنی محاسب (Accountant) برده آمده - در سراج اللغات نوشته که این لفظ نزد اکثر فارسی است و نزد بعضی عربی - در یکی از رساله معتبره آمده که دبیر در اصل دو چیز (Du - Bir) بود یعنی دال - چه (Bir) یعنی حافظه (مستند) است و منشی هم صاحب دو حافظه نظم و نثر باشد - و نزد بعضی دبیر لفظ مرتب یعنی دبیر است (نهایات اللغات)

نوشته که در وقت تأیید آن دست بطرف بالا برده شود - و قبیل آنکه در تأیید آن دست بطرف سینه و پایین آورده شود -

(مشتب اللغات)

بر وزن دبیر - منشی و نویسنده را گویند

(بر کاف قاطع)

دبیر - برای همه در آخر - بر وزن دبیر - نویسنده و منشی - در هر کج - دو بار مخفی که معنی منشی و محاسب برده آمده - در سراج اللغات نوشته که این لفظ نزد اکثر فارسی است و نزد بعضی عربی - در یکی از رساله معتبره بنظر آمده که دبیر لفظ مرتب یعنی دبیر است - از نهایات و صاحب فرنگ فارسی نوشته در اصل دو چیز بود که دبیر یعنی تأیید آن است و معنی حافظه نظم و نثر نازی و فارسی و دبیر معنی دانش چه گفته اند - اصل پارسی ده دبیر (Du-bir) است و شاید دبیر مرتب بآن باشد - چه دبیر در عربی معنی کاتب و نویسنده نیامده - و بوزن دبیر دبیر یک از این چهار بابین معنی نیامده - دبیر لفظ و معنی نوشت و حقه را گویند و پس هر چه زودتر گویند دبیر (دبیر نازی) - احمد ابن ابی طالب گویان صاحب تاریخ بغداد الفاکه از حراف و حقه بوده و ازین سراج اللغات لفظ دبیر گرفته است

(Painter)

(Nothing is clear from this Rubal-Tr.) و شاید دبیر معنی نقاش

(فرستگ آمده را)

و معتبر نیز آمده -

(continued)



the modern term Secretary as well. From an ordinary scribe (clerk) in modern terminology) to a section head and from a section head to a minister the term seems to have been freely applied. Thus Christinson's (1) use of the terms Dabhiran or Dabiran probably includes all the officers from the ministers of the state down to a P.A. and a clerk. But whether this Orientalist applies the term Dabiran to a specific branch of Sasanian Secretariat (The staff of the correspondence office) or he uses it for the whole of the clerical staff in the Secretariat we are not sure. Rawlinson (2), an other eminent scholar, comments

Notes: continued...

دودیر (Dabir) - نویسنده نامه - دودیر اصل دیر - دودیر بوده که دودیر تبدیل آن است  
و بعضی حافظ نظم و ترتیب و دیر (Dabir) یعنی دانش (دستور و نظم) به گفته اند  
اصل پارسی دودیر است و شاید عرب آن باشد - چه دیر در عربی معنی کاتب و نویسنده  
نیامده - دودیر (Dabir) و دابیر (Dabir) و دیر (Dabir) و دیر (Dabir)  
بسیک ازین جا راین معنی نیامده - دودیر (Dabir) یعنی ضعیف پشت و ... را  
گویند و پس هر چیزی را نیز گویند و دیر اللیل و الشهد آفرینش و آخر ماه و دیر  
ملاطه پس کار - و دیر پارسی ویر معنی هم دادرار و حفظ چیزی و قریباً حافظ و  
صاحب این حال را نیز دیر (Dabir) و نیز دیر (Dabir) گفته اند -  
یعنی نیز دانش و تداد را و زیرک -  
(انجمن آرای ناصری)

All these interpretations should stand authority to their meaning of a Munshi and Muhasib for the contemporary period of the lexicographers only and the conjectures freely made as to the origin of the word are nothing but "lame attempts" at reconciliation.

Footnotes of this page:-

- (1) Iran ba'ahd-i-Sasanian (Urdu. Tr.) p.173.
- (2) Rawlinson. (The seventh Great Oriental Monarchy). Chapter. xxviii. p.642.

in the following words, "...Grand officials corresponding more nearly to the Ministers of a Modern Sovereign, were the Vzourk 'h-rannotar' or Grand keeper of the Royal Orders who held the post now known as that of Grand Wazir; the Darpat Ariats or chief of the Scribes of Iran, a sort of chancellor; the Hazarepat daran Ariats or chiliarch of the Gate of Iran, a principal minister, the Hameraker a chief cashier or Pay master and Kholrdean dapir or Secretary of Council a sort of Privy council clerk, a registrar

This makes the position sufficiently clear that the word Dabir was a general term applied to both the clerks of different departments and also as a prefix to the designation of different officers of these departments.

Now we shall try to find out the Persian form of these phrases which have been taken by Rawlinson from "the Arminian writers of 6th and 7th centuries". Sasanian Secretariat consisted of about 9 departments. The incharge of all these departments was Mahisht Dabir and he had his assistant 'Dabir badh'. Under these two persons other heads of the departments were: Dad Dabir (Head or Secretary of the High Court), Shahramar Dabir (Municipal revenue head) Ganj amar dabir (Treasury head), Akhur amar Dabir (Royal Stable Dept. Head) and A tish amar Dabir (Spiritual Temples Dept. Head). Similarly military departments had their heads (1). The Royal Court (Darbar) had Dabirs who knew foreign languages in addition and read before the king the correspondence received from other courts (2). Whether these last mentioned

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- Notes: (1) <sup>The pieces</sup> Main points of the information contained in this paragraph and some points in the paragraph that follows ahead have been taken from Abbas Mehrin's two unpublished parts of the volume nous Iran nama. (vols. iv & v) The eminent scholar Mirza Abbas affirms that Bazurg Farmandar was not the head of a specific department but a man equal in status to a modern Prime-Minister and had his assistant in Iran mager. The head of the Secretariat was Mahisht Dabir.
- (2) Rawlinson (Seventh Monarchy) quotes an incident at the court of Khusrav Perviz where a letter from India was read and translated into Persian. ?

Dabirs were directly under the King or had any connection with the above mentioned departments is not known. Probably they were under the supervision of Dabir Badh but had to present themselves at the Royal court and not in the Secretariat.

If we are allowed to conjecture a while and link up the gap existing between the above mentioned information and facts contained below (next paragraph) we must say that Dabir badh had a separate department, and was at the same time assistant to Mahisht dabir and in this capacity the head of all the other departments. The whole of the office work was carried on, we can safely conjecture, by the dabirs (clerks) under the guidance of their section inch heads but the royal correspondence and also Farmans and letters to men and officers residing outside the secretariat building, was most probably carried on by the Dabir badh through his own department, which had, (and we can safely guess that it had) keeping in view the vastness of Sasanian Empire and its relations with other countries, a huge staff.

Now, to resume the thread of historical facts, we find that Dabir badh was to draft the Royal orders. His department was to copy it out. One of these copies was kept in the royal diary (1), another was given over for record to the Khazinadar (Record keeper or perhaps treasurer but not the chief treasurer) and the original draft was sent for scrutiny to the office concerned (2). The department concerned after making the necessary changes, used to send it back ( to the dabirbadh's office). The Dabir badh again corrected it (in his own hand ? ) and sent it to the person for whom it was originally drafted.

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Notes: (1) It was probably Ask Udar the Persian equivalent of the 'Abbasid Mudra (Arabic) vide Ref. (Mafatihul'ulum) Khwarizmi. p.82.

(2) All these copies had to bear the royal seal, the size and shape of which differed with the nature of the document.



✓ The name of the Secretariat, as pointed out by Imam Mawardi (381-450/991-1058) was Diwan, which according to his information (probably oral) was the name either given by Kisra (Anushirwan) to his accountants for their resemblance to mad men (Diwana) or a name given to them (by whom, he does not tell this), due to their affinity with the 'Devil' in their patience and capacity for work (1). These derivations are probably incorrect. The root Dipi can take different forms; it can take the form 'dip vat' (or dipivar "Dabir) Dipivan, and probably also Dipit var (Daftar). Dipi means impression (Naqsh) or line or polishing ( a wall etc. etc.) and like Katib of the post Islamic period, it denotes both the aspects a.g. hand writing and authorship. But here we face an other difficulty: Whether the word Diwan stands for a person or a place? That is, whether it is a 'noun of agency' (Ism Fail) or an 'adverb of place' (Ism-i-Zarf-i-makan)? This difficulty can not be solved through the Grammar of the Pahlwi language. Because out of the four forms that a root can take, when it is to be changed to an 'adverb of place' of Dipi two forms are possible, Dipi (dan) and Dipi (Stan) (2), and if it is to change into a 'noun of agency' (3) it can be Dipi (pat) and Dipi (pan) (4). Now which of the forms Dipi Pan or Dipidan is the real Diwan we can not say for definite. It may be dipidan or it may be Dipipan (5).

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Notes: (1) Mawardi. (Al Ahkam'us Sultaniyya Urdu, Tr. ) Chapter. xviii. p. 315.

(2) The same as Dabiristan or Dibistan in modern Persian.

(3) Din Mhammad (Dastur-i-Pahlwi) pp. 86-87 & cf. p.66.

(4) Ban of modren Persian.

(5) In English language such a difficulty can never arise because there in the noun of agency and adverb of place are never inter-dependant. But in Pahlwi, Persian and Arabic they are.

It has been admitted even by the Arab authors that the administrative system of the Iranians was the most perfect they ever come across. We know, for definite, from the authorities cited above that the word Dabir was used for persons and registers were called "Askudar" therefore the word Diwan was applied to the Departments of the state organisation. The word Diwan could be used for all the-se but an administration that ventures to be perfect has to give a seperate name to each of its items. More over I do not find any historical data pointing to the contrary. Therefore I conclude that 'Diwan' was applied to the department.

KATIBS DURING THE )  
DAYS OF IGNORANCE.)

The Sasanians dropped their lances at Qadisyia and Nahawand, and the death of the last Iranian monarch ended in the subjugation of Persia. This was followed by Iranian resistences at different quarters and covers the whole of the century that followed the Arab conquest. The Persions lost their game practically in 31 A.H. (651-52 A.D. the date of death of Yazdgird) resulting in Arab domination and later on in Arab rule. The 'Arabs in Pre-Islamic times had many a Katib in Yaman, Syria and Hira (1). But the name of (only) one 'Adi bin Zaid has come down to us (2).

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Notes: (1) Zubaid Ahmed (Adabul Arab) p.236.  
(2) Ibid and also Jurji Zaidan.

Arab poets of old speak of Himyari Katibs (1), who were available in the whole of Arabia. Those who drafted and transcribed letters for other people were called Katibs (2). The popularity of this method of professional letter writers, rests chiefly on the fact that the Arab Chiefs used to get their letters and trade transaction documents, written by the Katibs, as they themselves did not know how to write down. This was so but it does not prove that Badwin states had a regular state department (3). The idea of a regular state correspondence department was not known even to the early Musalmans.

ARABIA AFTER ISLAM: KATIBS OF WAHI. ) "Among the companions of Medina seventeen are stated to have been Katibs". The holy prophet had arranged about forty Katibs for the transcription of the Quran and they were called the Katibs of Wahi. "These same men were also employed for writing various letters (transcription or drafting.(4)) sent by the prophet to prominent men in Arabia, inviting them to embrace Islam (5)".

ORTHODOX CALIPHS: KATIBS: DIWAN. ) Under the Orthodox Caliph 'Umar (A.H. 13 to A.H. 24) we find Katib an office holder (i.e. employee) of the army. A translator also accompanied him (6). This is perhaps the first instance of an Arab State having a scholar in the army.

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- Notes: (1) Najib Ashraf. p. 2 & also Ency. of Islam. Zubaid Ahmed. (p.236) mentions Hiri script which according to his information is Naskhi and Kufi script. Hiri is probably a misprint. Kufi script is a different script Hamayari script was called Musnadi (see Ibn-i-Khaldun. vol.III. (Urdu. Tr.) p.64,65.)
- (2) Zubaid Ahmed. p. 237.
- (3) Ibn-i-Khaldun (Urdu Tr.) Vol. II. p.109.
- (5) Ency. of Islam. (Insha)
- (6) Shibli (Umar the Great) (English. Tr.) pp. 130-37. quotes from Tabari the name of the Katib(?) (Munshi) who went on the battle of Bowaih (Ramazan 14 A.H.) Ziyd ibn Ali Sufyan and also that of the translator as Hilal Hijri.
- (4) The phrase in the brackets is mine.



The position of the Katibs of Wahi (we can safely guess) might have vanished after the Holy Prophet, but the necessity of state correspondence was sufficient to keep the scribes employed at the court for official correspondence. What was the name of the department? We do not know because it was in no way a well defined and well organised state department (1) up to the rise of the Umayyids.

During the Caliphate of Abu Bakr (A.H. 11 to 13 A.H.) Uthman Bin 'affan and Zaid bin Thabit used to draft official correspondence. Similarly under 'Umar the Great Zaid bin Thabit and Abdullah bin Khalaf (2) also used to discharge the duties of letter drafters. But the regular establishment got its birth many years after the introduction, by 'Umar, of the Pahlwi word Diwan in Arabia. It was 'Umar who, according to Shibli, systematized the whole administrative machinery of the Arabs. Mawardi informs us that either Khalid bin Walid or Hurmuzan suggested the establishment of a 'Diwan' to the caliph (3). The first interpretation of the word 'Diwan',

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- Notes: (1) L. H. Quraishi (The Adm. of the Delhi Sultanate) p. 36  
 (2) (3rd. C.A.D.) Masudi in his Al Tamihi o wal Ishraf (Urdu. Tr.) gives a list of 16 Katibs and out of them Juha'im and Zubair were the scribes of Zakat and Sadaqat, 'Ala bin 'Uqbah the scribe of 'deeds' and other trade documents, Hujafah the estimator of the revenue of Hajaz; Mu'aliqib used to keep the records of the booty, Zaid bin Thabit the drafter of royal letters, he was also expected to translate letters received from different govt; Haqalah and Khalid bin Sa'ad were to officiate others when the need arose (pp. 123-124). It appears that even during this early period the Arabs had a vague idea of distribution of labour though we find instances (see ibid. p. 125) where these divisions of work were never fully followed.
- (3) Mawardi (Al Ahkamul Sultaniyya) (Urdu Tr.) p. 316-317 and also Browne Vol. I. (Urdu Tr.) p. 374 says, on the authority of (Al Fakhari) that it was an Iranian Marzuban who suggested it to 'Umar. The date of their action, given by Mawardi as 10 A.H. is obviously wrong because 'Umar became caliph in 13 A.H.; the battle of Syria soon took place in this very year. According to Balazuri as referred to by the editor of Mawardi's original arabic text the establishment of the 'diwan' dates from the year 20 A.H. Ibn Khaldun gives the date as Muharram 10 A.H. (see. p. 106)

as introduced by 'Umar through the verbal (not documentary) exposition of the man who suggested him the establishment of this system, was either the "Registers of Military Accounts Department" (1) or the Military Accounts Department itself or most probably both. Ibn-at-Tiqtiqa (alive in 702 A.H.) is of the view that it was the accounts register which was called a Diwan (2). Mawardi (5thc. A.H.) holds both (3) and he being two centuries nearer the event we can rely upon his opinion. Najib Ashraf (4) relying on a vague passage from Qalqashandi (9th C.A.H. writer) argues that Hadrat 'Umar established the two departments under the names: Diwan ul Insha and Diwan ul Jaish. But this view is not supported by any authority before and after Qalqashandi. The term Diwan, as such, was not known to early muslimans (5).

- Notes: (1) Abdur Razzaq (in his Nizam ul Mulk Tusi) p.637 says that the Diwan ul Jund of the Saljuqs was called 'Diwan under 'Umar. Shibli also holds the same (Al Faruq part. II. p.93). But Shibli at another place p. 81. says..... دیوان دین جہاں دفتر کے کاغذات رہتے تھے۔ فوج کا دفتر بھی اسی مکان میں ہوتا تھا
- (2) Ibn at Tiqtiqa (English Tr. Whitting) pp. 79-81. He further says 'Umar died before the completion of this plan".
- (3) Mawardi (Urdu. Tr.) p. 315 line 2,3 (for Diwan as department) and p.318 line 1 (for Diwan as a register). Compare it with the original (Egypt edition) p.175 line 2 and again p.176 last line and also Urdu Tr. p.320 line 9 and the original page 178 line 10th.
- (4) Najib Ashraf (Muqadama-i-Ruqa'at-i-'Alamgir) p.31. The passage concerned can also be translated other wise, for O can either qualify. دیوان الہی. or. دیوان الہی. I personally think that it qualifies.....The translation would run thus: All these letters, contrary to the Diwan ul Jaish are concerned with the Diwan ul Insh. Diwan ul Jaish was a department established for the first time by 'Umar.
- (5) V.V. Bartold in his Musalman Culture (English Tr.) p.33 does not seem to be clear about the position of affairs while commenting on Persian influence during the Caliphate of 'Umar he considers the word Diwan equivalent to secretariats and Accounts offices.

'Diwan' during this period does not seem to represent a complicated system of governmental offices, unlike the Sasanians where in it stood as a general term for 'all the separate state departments'. But here the word came in as a term for financial problems of the 'Arabian Government, the resources of which were for the most part based on military expeditions. The whole of the Arabian system of finance centred round the nucleus of the army and included both the items of income and expenditure (1), which has in recent times been divided into the Finance department, Revenue dept, Treasury, Accounts, and Military Accounts. But at that time when life was so simple and army expeditions the main source of income, no complicated system was to be expected. Diwan was the department dealing with all the heads of income and expenditure. The script of the department was at certain places Greek and at other places Pahlwi (2). It was only in the 7th c. A.D. that the Arabic replaced these languages. The Accounts clerks were called Katibs. The scribes of correspondence were also called Katibs but they were always arabic knowing confidants of the state, because the medium of letter writing was arabic.

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Notes: (1) It included the pays of the army and also state annuity to every Arab, free or a client even women and children received the amount. See. Mawardi. Chapter. XVIII. and also-Hell (Arab civilization) English Tr. p.45.

(2) From the very beginning the conquerors (Arabs) were utterly unable to take the administration of the conquered countries into their own hands. They had therefore no option but to have the administration to their highly cultured subjects.....willingly or unwillingly even Omar (Umar) had to adopt the Byzantine financial system for the benefit of the muslim exchequer. In the divans (Diwans) (Board of Accounts) established by Omar in conquered countries the natives—Christians and Persians---kept books in their own languages----Greek and Persian. Only in Medina were the accounts kept in Arabic, but even there according to foreign system; and this was by no means difficult for a once commercial community, familiar with book keeping, such as the Arabs were. Hell (English Tr. By Khuda Bakhsh) p.45,46.



UMAYYIDS; ) This same system of office administ-  
 KATIB; DIWAN UL KHATAM; )  
 DIWAN-i-RASAIL, DIWAN; } ration, prevalent at the centre, was  
 MUHASIBIN & THE }  
 KATIBS. } current in the provinces as well. Umayyid

state was the first muslim secular state under which the govern-  
 mental machinery of different departments underwent a change.  
 Prior to Umayyids under the Orthodox Caliphs there were no hard  
 and fast rules for taking counsel from any specific person, but  
 now that the secular element had come and had taken its hold, the  
 position of a Kitab, the knower of secrets was bound to take  
 prominence. This office was of great honour. It was filled during  
 this period by men who had the simple title of Katib and it was  
 "under Abul 'Abbas that the title of Wazir was first employed".  
 This counsellor was the chief drafter of state documents, and  
 the head of that office. 'Ubaid bin 'Aus al Ghasani and Sarjun bin  
 Mansur ar Rumi under Mu'awyyah and Zanal bin Khushani and Sarjun  
 Nasrani under Yazid were roughly speaking, ministers with limited  
 powers. 'They were the pillars of the state',---as Masudi the  
 father of history calls them. In order to facilitate communicat-  
 ions between other countries, the Amils and the central government  
 at Damascus, Mu'awiyah (the first Ummayyid ruler) set up a corres-  
 pondence bureau under the title Diwan ul Khatam (The board of the  
 signet) (2), or the 'despatching registry'(3). Its function was  
 that there should be an office with 'civil' servants in it(4).  
 When an official memorandum came from the Caliph (5) with an  
 instruction, the memorandum was brought to this office, "a true  
 copy of which

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Notes: (1) Masudi (Attambih wal Ishraf. Urdu.Tr.) p.161 & 169.  
 For a complete list of Katibs under the Umayyids and  
 Abbasids see. pp. 137, 206, 224, 226, 230, 231, 232, 234,  
 & 242 of the same.

(2) Von Kremer pp. 193-94, I.H. Quraishi. p.87.

(3) Ibn at Tigt-i-qa (English Tr.) p.104.

(4) Ibid.

(5) "from the Caliph" does not mean that the memorandum  
 was drafted by the Caliph, all that it means is that  
 it was sent in his name to the office concerned.

made, it was then pierced by a thread and sealed with wax. It was finally sealed with the seal of the officer-in-charge of that office". It is clear from the above account that the drafting of royal orders was still the business of some one else and the functions of copying, making entries in a dispatch register and despatching it over, was the duty of the department and the officer incharge. This office was considered to be one of the most important offices and had a continuous tradition to the middle of the 'Abbasid dynasty---after that it was abolished (1). Parallel to this department, Von Veremer, while discussing the reign of the successors of 'Abdul Malik, tells us of the existence of an other department, under the title Diwan-i-Rasail' (2). There were four departments in all, he says (4) the Diwan ul Kharaj, 'which was in the nature of the department of finance'; the Diwan ul Khatam, the Diwan ul Rassail, "where all government communications were drawn up"; and Diwan-ul-Mustaghallah (Board of revenue), "where all the different taxes were received, registered and calculated"(3). The distinction between the 'dispatch office' and the office for drafting, throws light on

- Notes: (1) Ibn-at Tiktika (Eng Tr.) p.104.  
(2) Von Kremer pp. 204,205 & 206.  
(3) Aslam Jairajpuri (Tarikh ul Umat vol.13. pp.539-40) divides the Departments into three Daftar-i-Fawj, Daftar-i-Insha and Daftar-i-Kharaj. I do not find any such division between Daftar-i-Fawj and Daftar-i-Kharaj in the books at my disposal and also the title 'Daftar' and the word 'Insha' as technical terms seem to me of a later date. p.107 Vol.2.)  
(4) We may add an other to his list Diwan-i-Barid established by Mu'awyah and was reorganized by Abdul Malik and Walid. Some time before the Abbasids it fell into disuse but was restarted by Harun (Abbasid). see. O.C.M. (Nov.Feb, 1948) p.7 and also. Jurji Zaidan (Tamadun-i-Islam. Urdu Tr.) p.243.

the effort of Arabs towards the adoption of a perfect system. The word Diwan where as it was in the beginning an equivalent to the 'Military Accounts list', or 'Military Accounts Department', now retained the two forms: 'Military Accounts list (1)' and 'the general term for every department'. The in-charge of Diwn-ur-Rasa'il (Katib) was called under the 'Abbasids the 'Wazir' (2) and under the Umayyids his position (as told before) was that of a minister with limited powers and the general supervision over all the other departments and even of his own department was directly under the King (i.e. the Caliph) (3). It would not be out of place to mention the division of the duties of the Katibs (scribes) during this period. Up to the reign of 'Uthman and Ali (orthodox caliphs) there was only one Katib who used to perform all the duties (of a drafter of letters(4), the clerk of military Accounts Dept, and the Accountant). At times two such Katibs were employed one was to draw letters and the other to keep the accounts. During the Umayyid period the staff increased, and now could be divided into five groups e.g. 1. Letter daftar 2. Scribe of the Kharaj 3. Military Accounts clerk 4. clerk of the police dept. and 5. Scribe of the Qada. (5). Roughly speaking we can divide them into two Muhasibin and the Katibs of documents.

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Notes: (1) Wellhausen (The Arab Kingdom and its fall. Eng.Tr.) p.497 calls it "the Military Pension list".

(2) Mas'udi (Urdu Tr.) p.226.

(3) Ibn-i-Khaldun (Urdu Tr.) tells us that the Diwan (Finance & Accounts) came under the Wazirs supervision during the Abbasids (see. p.107 Vol.2.)

(4) Important letters were drafted during the reign of 'Umar by 'Uthman and similar was the case with other two caliphs whose special letters were drafted by their own kinsmen.

(5) Jurji Zaidan. Vol. I. p.260.



ABBASID PERIOD) In Military and civil administration the  
WAZIR, KATIB. )

Caliphate, now attained its fullest development(1).

But is very difficult to give an accurate account of the administrative machinery at a given reign, "in as much as different rulers frequently made capricious changes(2)". The Katib of the Umayyid period became the Wazir and state departments came under his direct control(3). The families of Barmak, Sahl and Bakht held along the post of Wazarat, the headship of the finance department----the third pillar of the empire (4). Now it was not necessary that the Wazir should himself draft the letters and other correspondence and clerical work of importance. We find along with the 'Wazir' the names of certain (5) Katibs (Secretaries) as well. During Hadi's Caliphate, 'Ubaid Ullah was a Katib under Rabi', the Wazir (6). Again under the Caliph Manun, Fadi bin Sahl was not followed by any wazir (with unlimited powers). His chief scribes were known as Katibs and none of them was given the title of wazir by the Caliph ✓

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Notes: (3) The Umayyids (always) felt insulted at the idea of a Katib (scribe) called a 'Wazir' (an assistant of the Caliph) Masudi p. 224-25. It is only during the 'Abbasids that the principles of the ministry were elaborated and its regulations established, for before that time neither were its principles settled nor its regulations fixed, nay, each single monarch had his followers and entourage and when anything occurred he sought a advice from the intelligent and men of sound common sense, each one of whom in that case performed the functions of a minister. But when the 'Abbasids ruled, the regulations of the ministry were fixed and the minister was called by that name. Before that time he was called a secretary or a counsellor. (Ibn Tughtaqa p.146) Hence forth these Wazirs were separated from that of Katibs and we should not treat them as Katibs. They drafted important state documents no doubt but they were administrative heads now. We find separate persons under them, known as Katibs. see Masudi. p.231.

(1) Hell (Arab Civilization) p.72.

(2) Von Kremer. p. 236.

(4) Ibn-i-Khaldun. Vol. II. p.107.

(5) I have translated here the word Katib as 'Secretary' for avoiding vagueness. In fact an ordinary clerk and also chief clerk, both were known as Katibs.

(6) Masudi. p. 231.

that is why some of the historians have not mentioned his Katibs as wazirs (1) (though they enjoyed the limited powers of a wazir (2)). Thus the post of the wazir though varying in importance under different rulers, was indeed powerful enough to convey the impression to the public that the real wielder of power was this office and not the Caliph how ever much in theory the former might have been responsible to the crown (3)" in practice the wazir usually was the head of the entire machinery of government, "the central finance was his immediate concern but he was also responsible for the other offices at the headquarters(4)".

CORRESPONDENCE)  
DEPARTMENT AT )  
BAGDAD.

The dramatic incident of the foundation of Bagdad has much to do with our subject. "In God's name---and His is the Praise. The earth is God's. He comes to inherit it whom so ever he wills of His servants, and the issue is to the righteousness", with these words 'The 'Abbasid Caliph Al Mansur laid the first brick of the city of Al Mansura (Bagdad) with his own hand. Then he said "build!!!!!" The work began in the year 145 A.H. and finished in 146 A.H. (5). It was circular in form. The four gates of the city opened on to the central place, which had the palace, the Mosques and the official buildings (6) (of) Diwans. Bartold while commenting on these says that they were seven in number: "1. The Divan (Diwan) of the seal, that is, governmental offices which dealt with the papers meant for royal assent (7); 2. Divan of diplomatic documents;

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Notes: (1) Masudi. p. 243-44.

(2) Ibid. (some of the historians do mention these Katibs as wazirs, even though these wazirs did not have the title from any Caliph). For the distinction existing between the wazir with limited powers and the Wazir with unlimited powers see Mawardi. Chapter. II. p. 42.

(3) Hell. p.73.

(4) I.H. Quraishi p. 80.

(5) Ibn-i-Tiqta. p.156, Muir. 457.

(7) It was also a dispatchery.

(6) For the division of the departments during the reign of Al Mutawakil. see. Von Kremer. pp. 236-37.

3. Divan (W) of the guard; 4. Divan of the troops, 5. Divan of the state revenues; 6. Divan of public expenditure; 7. Divan of store (1)". This division of the department of income and expenditure, into separate branches, makes it clear that the machinery was stepping towards perfection. The intellegentsia of Iran and the Turkish slaves surrounded the Caliphs. The government was developed on Sasanian lines. The division into departments changed with every Caliph but the general line of division was the same throughout and was later on copied by Buwayhids, Tahirids, Samanids, Ghaznavids and even the Seljuqs. ✓

DIWAN & DAFTER, ) The first marked distinction between the two  
DIWAN-AT TAWQI, )  
DIWAN UR RASAIL.) Pahlwi words 'Diwan' and 'Daftar', we come across before the end of the 4th C. Khawarizmi (2) (d. 380 A.H.) who uses the word 'diwan' (3) for a department and dafter for a register. His list of main 'Abbasi Dawawin is: Diwan ul Khiraj (4) Diwan ul Khazn, Diwan ul Jaish, Diwan ul Barid, Diwan ul Ma' wan nafaqat, Diwan ul Diya and Diwan ur Rasail. The Diwan ul Barid had previously been stopped by the Early 'Abbasid Calphis but it was restored during the reign of Mahdi (5). It has already been mentioned that the Diwan ul Khatam had been stopped till this time. Its duties were handed over to the Diwan ut Tawqi

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Notes: (1) Bartold p.43. (for the list of pays of these departments see. Bartold. p. 44-45, and also Jurji Zaidan. p. 158-59

(2) His full name was Ali Abdullah Mahd. bin Ahmed bin Yusuf Al Khawarizmi. al Katib the author of Mafatihul 'ulum.

(3) Khawarizmi p.57.

(4) Whether the word Diwan-i-Wizarat (during the early Abbasids) a separate department or not we do not know. The compiler of the Ec. of Islam says that during this period the word Diwan also meant the government of the caliph. Mez (p.70) mentions the existence of an office as Diwan ul Fad. (The office of breaking seals) the Wazirs board which received all the correspondence from outside. The translator comments on the obscure passage thus (p.30). "(At first the department might have been under the Caliph) Later when the Wazir took charge of correspondence office Diwan ul Fad became the wazir's cabinet, with his secretary (Katib) in-charge there of.....No other explanation suggests itself".

(5) O.C.M. (D) Nov. Feb. 1948. p.8.



We need not go into the details of how the machinery worked, except the correspondence department. We shall also avoid mentioning the changes that came in these departments (1), mentioning only those effecting the Diwan ur Rasail. The correspondence department was called Diwan ur Rasail (2) The word Diwan now meant, the Accounts Departments (4). The buildings of the departments (5), the Register (6), the government (7) a single department, or a sub-office of a department (8); where as a daftar meant only a Register Mawardi's (d. 450 A.H.) predecessor Khawarimi (d.380 A.H.) is more clear when he uses the word 'dafter' for a 'register' and 'diwan' for a department or a sub-office.

One thing is certain, that when ever the literary persons of 'Abbasid period use the word 'diwan' with a prefix e.g. Diwan ul Insha, Diwan-i-Barid ect, it stands for a department or a sub-office (9) but when used alone it stands for the 'Accounts departments' (10).

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Notes:- (1) Von Kremer quotes Qudama giving a list of departments during his own period which are 10 in number. See Von Kremer. p. 237. See also Jurji Zaidan Vol I. p. 117 and pp. 169-70 and again pp. 220-266, and Ibn Khaldun (Vol. II) pp. 105-151. and Mawardi's book.

(2) Khawarizmi. p.53. Amir Ali p. 414.

(4) Ibn-i-Khaldun p. 107.

(5) Leban (Tamadun-i-Arab. Urdu Tr. Syed Ali Balgrami) Appendix p.10.

(6) Mawardi. p.333(e.g. Diwan-i-Nahiya and Diwan-i-Baitul mal)

(8) Jurji Zaidan. Vol.I. p.252.

(10) Ibn Khaldun. Vol.II. p. 107.

(9) Jurji Zaidan classifies them under the heads Revenue, Army, Qada, Barid and Insha. (see. p.118) under Diwan ul Jund (army) were Diwan ul Asatil, Diwan ul Thaghur etc.etc. Mawardi classifies all the departments under the following four heads e.g. the departments of Army, of provincial problems, for the appointments of governors etc., and of revenue and expenditure. see.p. 321.

(7) Enc. of Islam (under Diwan).

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THE WORDS--SAHIB, ) Similarly the word Sahib when  
 DIWAN-i-RASAIL; )  
 DIWAN UR RASAIL; ) used as a prefix meant a head of the  
 DIWAN-i-RASAIL-o-MUKATABAT.) department; Sahib-i-Diwan meant,

the head of the fiscal departments (1), which was during the Abbasid period the Wazir. Like wise Sahib-o-Shurt, Sahib-i-Barid etc. etc. Sahib has also been used during this period in the sense of Wazir (2). The relations between other departments and the Diwan ur Rasail or Diwan-i-Rasail, or Diwan-i-Rasail o (as Ibn-i-Khaldun would like to have it) was most probably that it was the connecting link between Diwan ul Tawqi and other departments. All the letters sent outside the Secretariat were drafted in the Diwan-i-Rasail (4). The Katib (incharge of the department and deputy to the Wazir (3) under the Abbasids was "an

Notes: (1) (The Umayyad of Andalus had a head with this title.) see. Ibn-i-Khaldun. Vol. II. p.107.

(2) In the 4th C.A.H. the Wazir was called Sahib, the first man to hold the title was Abul Qasim b. Abi al Hasan 'Ibad bin al 'Abbas the Wazir of Mu'ayyad ud Dawlah of the Bowayh dynasty. See Jurj Zaidan. Vol I. p.154.

(3) Infra.

(4) Khawrizmi while discussing the technical terms of Diwan ul Insha says in a definite and clear way that the terms of other Dawawin (deptt) are also included in the terminology of the Diwan-ul-Insha. This cannot be interpreted in any other way except the one suggested above. see. p.72.

Notes: (1) Khawrizmi does not even mention the existence of such a diwan, probably due to the fact that he wholly and solely devoted himself to the administrative aspect of the fiscal problems.

(2) Ibn-i-Khaldun. Vol. II. p.109 and also Khawrizmi.

(3) Ibid.

(4)(i) They were also called Katib-us-Sirr. Jurj Zaidan. Vol. I. p.261. (ii) The chief secretary had the title of Katib-us-Sirr (private secretary) Secy. of Islam (under Katib).

(5) Jurj Zaidan Vol. I. pp. 260-261.

(6) Ibn Khaldun. Vol. II. p.110

(7) Diwan ul Tawqi meant the department of despatches. While Tawqi meant the official notes (made either in the department or any other note written for drafting & despatch). Such Tawqiat during the Mughals in India were known as Haws-nisharati. Regarding the Diwan ul Tawqi Ibn Khaldun tells us that it also received petitions addressed to the king. (p.72).

important post (1)", who used to draft official documents himself and made his own signatures in the end and under it he put the royal seal. After few years Caliphs themselves started signing the documents and the Katibs (secretaries) made only their initials. Later on when the officials especially the wazir came into power and the Caliphs honoured them, the position of a Katib suffered a loss in prestige, and their signatures were not thought necessary (2). At time the Caliph himself signed the correspondence but this happened only when the Caliph was all powerful (3). The wazirs, usually made pithy comments on 'applications'. The duty of drafting the Tarassul had been given by the caliphs to the wazirs but these wazirs did not usually (Jurji Zaidan uses the word 'never', but I find that certain wazirs drafted important state correspondence themselves) draft letters in their own hand but it was done by their secretaries (Katibs). Yahya Barmaki was the first wazir to start this. He wrote himself orders and comments on officials papers (5) which were elaborated into orders and instructions by his office. The Tawqi was at times the oral instructions of the Caliph, which was noted down in pithy and forceful language by the wazir in his own style. Jafar-ibn-i-Yahya is famous for his Tawqiat(6) (7).

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(6) Ibn Khaldun. Vol. II. p.110

(7) Diwan ul Tawqi meant the department of the state despatchry. While tawqi meant the instructions i.e. the official notes (made either on the applications or any other note written for drafting a document. Such Tawqiat during the Mughals in India were known as Ramz-o-isharat). Regarding the duties of Diwan ul Tawqi Mez tells us that it also received petitions addressed to the king. (p.79).



INSHA: )  
ROUGH DRAFT.)

It is interesting to note that during this period 'Insha' meant a rough drafting(2) and Tahrir meant the fair copy (1) and it was after the Ghaznavi period that the correspondence department was known as 'Diwan Ul Insha'. The importance of this department was not fully realized as a part of the administrative machinery. That is why Khwarizmi in his section on Dawawin gives it the last place. Mawardi omits it altogether. Under the Gaznawids too the importance of this department was never admitted. So it is not out of place to say that the department came into importance after the Gaznawids.

PERIOD AFTER )  
THE ABBASIDS.)

The detailed account of the Diwan ur Rasail under the dynasties that paid nominal allegiance to the Caliphate at Bagdad is not possible because the information at our disposal is very meagre. We can conjecture that the Tahrids (beginning in 320 A.D. 205-A.H.) who omitted the customary mention of the Caliph's name from the Friday sermon and though professing allegiance to the Caliph were practically independent, had the administrative system of the 'Abbasids copied at their court. But we are not sure whether they had a Diwan ur Rasail or not, though they had diplomatic relations with the court at Bagdad. So the account that follows will be more or less a history of persons, much less of the department. Gurdizi (3) mentions the name of one Ismail Dabir who worked under Abdullah bin Tahir. As is clear from the word Dabir, he must have been the Katib (Secretary). This reference, also makes us believe that in and around Khurasan the word Dabir was more popular than the word Katib.

2. SAFFARIDS: In this part of the muslim world Tahrids were followed by the Saffarids (b. 372 A.H.) who for thirty years

3. SAMANIDS: stretched their sway over a great part of Persia. They were dispossessed by the Samanids in the year 374 A.D. (-261 A.H.)

a dynasty that had its seat in Trans-oxiana. Narshakhi (4)

Notes: (1) Khawarizmi. p.78.

(2) i.e. a protocol.

(3) Gurdizi (Zaynul Akhbar). p.3.

(4) He wrote his Tarikh-i-Bokhara (Arabic) in 332 A.H., its summary translation(Persian) appeared in 574 A.H. by Muhd. Zafar b. 'Umar. The reff. are to this Tr. Schefer's edition.

ازدیرغنی، حصار بخارا تا به دروازه مسجد که ریگستان خوانند در این ریگستان سوارهای یادشده بودند  
 است. از قدیم باز در جاهلیت و در روزگار آل سامان امیر سعید لغری که بنو اسمعیل السامانی  
 بر ریگستان سوارهای فرمود. و سوارهای ساخته بجاییت شکو. مال بسیار در دی خرج کرد. و در سوارهای  
 خویش سوارهای عمال فرمود. بنا کردند. ضیائیکه بر عاملی را علییده دیوانی بود اندر سوارهای خویش  
 بر در سوارهای سلطان چون دیوان وزیران، دیوان مستوفی و دیوان عمید الملک و دیوان  
 صاحب شرف و دیوان صاحب حوید و دیوان شرف و دیوان عمید خاص و دیوان محاسب  
 و دیوان اوقاف و دیوان قصا. بدین ترتیب دیوان و فرمود بنایانند. (2) - (3).

Diwan-i-Amidul Mulk and the Diwan-i-Sahib-i-Muyyad-- , what does this signify? Nazim leaves the question unsettled. Tripathi summarizes the passage thus: The chief departmental heads in the days of the Samanids were Mustaufi (W), Mushrif, Sahib-i-Shurt, Sahib Hajib, Diwan-i-Mamlikah-i-Khas (Mamluka), Diwan-i-Awqaf, Diwan-i-Muhtasa (1) b, Diwan-i-Qada. (and the Diwan-i-Wizarat.) (4). He reads Diwan-i-Sahib Muyyid, as Diwan-i-Hajib Muyyid (Then what does Muyyid mean? He does not tell us.). Diwan-i-Amidul Mulk (5) he leaves out altogether. Which one of these is the Diwan ul Ard and

- Notes: (1) It is clear from this that the Wazir had a separate  
 (2) Diwan. Nazim says that Diwan-i-Ard is omitted from the list. p.130 (foot notes).  
 (3) Narshakhi p. 24. (ed. Schefer)  
 (4) Tripathi chap. V. p.210.  
 (5) Was it Amid ul Mulk Kindarithe eminent Katib and Wazir of Sultan Tughrul the Saljuq? But he was not even born in the year of the establishment of these buildings. Other people holding this title were Amid ud Dawla, Abu Talib Mohd. b. Muslama (Dyalmitic court) Ashrafud Din Amid ud Dawla (485 A.H.) (Malik Shah), see. pp.82-83 and 91-92 of Khwand Mir (Dastur ul Wuzara, for Muyyid as a title we find Muyyid ud Din Abu Abdullah b. Mohd b. Ali Qasab alive 590 A.H.). His son Muyyid ud Din Mohd Alqussi a contemporary of Tusi; Muyyid ud Dawla b. Rukun ud Dawla Daylmi; Muyyid ud Din Marzuban Munshi (Sajars court); Muyyid ul Mulk b. Nizam ul Mulk Tuse Muyyids o f Samai period, there were two Abul Muyyids; both were poets. Abul Muyyid Rownaqi Bukhari and Abul Muyyid al Balakhi (see 'Awfi' Vol. II. p.26) Awfi under the poets of the Seljuq periods after Muzzi, mentions Muyyidud Din Alnasafi (a poet of later saljuq period) and makes the following Riyat-i-Lafzi (word play)  
 ..... (بازید) .....  
 which shows that this word was being used for the army.



which one the Diwan-i-Risalat, we do not know (4), though we can say with confidence that the word Muiyid was some how connected with the army. The Diwan-i-Risalat (correspondence department) was the essential part of the governmental machinery and nearly all the wazirs rose from this very department and were expected to be 'men of the 'pen'.

(3)--Balami is an example. His Tawaqiat, though no more extant, had been a popular book of 'good style' among those who wanted to acquire a style. Historians also mention the names of Abdullah Katib and Iskafi (of Nishapur) as the persons who took the charge of Diwan-i-Risalat one after the other (1)

4. GHAZNAWIDS DIWAN-i-RISALAT; ) Samanids were followed by the  
DAHIR-i-KHAS, MUNSHI-i-HADRAT)  
AND DIWAN-ul-INSHA. ) Ghaznavids. Their kingdom being a  
dependency of Bukhara in its earlier days, was administered as a part of the Samani empire. "Sultan Mahmud adopted and continued the system of administration which was already in operation, without making any appreciable alterations, or improvements in it (2)". As the kingdom of Ghazna was yet in the making the constitution was neither so elaborate nor detailed as that of the Caliphs at Bagdad. But we need not go into the details of that. It has excellently been done by the eminent scholar Nazim in his monograph on Mahmud of Ghazna. The working of the Diwan-i-Risalat too should not detain us long, because it was practically the same as under the Caliphs at Bagdad. All that need be mentioned is that "the chief duty of the Sahib-i-Diwan-i-Risalat was to write the Sultans letters to the Caliph, foreign princes local governors and other state designitaries. Important correspondence was dictated by the Sultan (or the Wazir (5)) himself, but in ordinary matters he gave oral instructions to the Head of correspondence department (not to the Wazir?) who communicated them to the officers concerned (6)".

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Notes. (1) This took place in the year 343 A.H.

(2) Nazim p. 130.

(3) Once during the Ghaznavids the appointment of a minister was rejected on the ground of his inability to write well. see. Tripathi. p. 170.

(4) During this period it was also among the duties of Katib to recite the contents of letters received from any court. see. Kaikaur's (Qabus Nama) pp. 154, 155, & 156.

(5) Nazim does not mention this.

(6) Nazim p. 143.



More over, formerly the documents of the Barid were opened and read by the Diwan-i-Wizarat, it was now done by the Diwan-i-Risail (or Sahib-i-Diwan-i-Risalat)---Sahib-i-Diwan-i-Risalat was also called the Dabir-i-Khas, or the Munshi-i-Hadrat (1). Two members of this department acted as Sultan's private secretaries and dealt with his private correspondence. Each one of them was styled Katib-i-Khas (2) There was no hard and fast rule for drafting a firman by any specific person. We have instances where the wazirs themselves drafted letters (3). The duty of drafting depended mostly on the importance of the document.

**SALJUQS:** ) Under the Saljuqs, we find a Diwan ur Risail  
DIWAN UL INSHA, )  
DIWAN UR RASAIL, ) or Diwan ul Insha (5) or the Diwan-i-Tughra (4),  
DIWAN-I-TUGHRA; )  
which was divided into two sections, each with a separate head  
e.g. the Diwan ur Rasail-i-Farsi and the Diwan-i-Rasail-i-Arabi  
(6). The name Diwan-ul-Insha was first adopted by the Fatami  
Caliphs for their Diwan-ur-Rasail (7) and its use in India and  
Iran shows Egypt influence. In fact sometime after the Ghazna-  
wid rule India came under the total influence of Egypt (8) regard-  
ing its administrative system. India had free trade relations with  
Egypt during the time of Muḥd Tughluq (9). And as a result the  
word Dawatdari for Tarassul came into common use in India (10)  
during the Sultanate of Delhi. It was here in India that the  
Diwan-i-Rasail was known as Diwan-ul-Insha because immediately  
after Mahmud a separate department for religion was established  
under the name of Diwan-i-Risalat.

*imp* **MUNSHIS)** Among the famous Munshis (11) during this period Shams-i-Dabir, Amir Khusraw, Ainul Mulk Mahru (India) Bahai Bagdadi and Muntajib ud Din (Iran) should be mentioned.

Both in India and Iran, after this period, there is  
Notes: (1) I.H. Quraishi. p.86.

(2) Ibid. p.88.

(3) Shams ul Ma'ali's wazir Abul Abbas Ghanami drafted a Firman. see Nizam ul Mulk (Syasat Nama) p. 58. More over Nizam ul Mulk's letters have also come down to us. Abdur Razzaq (Nizam ul Mulk Tusi) p.68, 69.

(4) Ibid. p.636.

(5) See. Baha ud Din Bagdadi. p.145.

(6) Ibid. p.54 (foot note) (7) Mez. p.77. (8) Najib Ashraf. p.13

(9) Ashraf p.111. (10). Najib Ashraf. p.13.

(11) I have mentioned here the names of those court employees who wrote documents in Persian. Arabic Insha writers have been omitted altogether.

a host of Munshis, among whom worth mentioning are Rashid-ud-Din Fadlullah, Mu'in-i-Zamchi (873 A.H.) Mahmud-i-Gawan (d.880 A.H.) Husain / b. Ali Al Kashifi Shihab-ud-Din Marwarid, Khwand Mir (alive in 926 A.H.) and Hakim Yusufi (940 A.H.)

imp. INSHA AS A ) But we should not forget one thing here. The GENERAL TERM.)

word Insha had acquired a general meaning up to this time, and was being freely used by scholars and savants, not only for Royal letters and correspondence but also for letters personal and non-diplomatic. It had a much wide implication too. It was now being used for all prose pieces that were emotional in character. Every stylist in emotional prose could be called a Munshi (1) and his writings the Insha Literature. Having this definition in view we can easily add to the above list, the names of Sa'adi, Qadi Hamid-ud-Din and Sharf ud Din Munyari.

✓ THREE STAGES IN) As afore-said, the history of the development THE DEVELOPMENT) OF INSHA. ) of 'Insha' has undergone two or (to be more

accurate) three changes during the seven centuries under review. Before the 4th c.A.H. no clear cut classification (regarding attitudes) of both Arabic and Pahlwi literature is possible, because the vagueness of their terminology includes elements of confusion. Not to say of the types of literature (emotive or scientific) it also had vagueness in its ends and means. Transcription (means) and composition (end) were only vaguely conceived and therefore these languages had no separate vocabulary for the two. The Dabir or the Katib what ever he wrote or said was literature. Arabia had oratory and Persia its correspondence department, when the two came in to close contact with one another, prose literature got two types of developed branches. At first the

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Notes. (1) There was no University diploma for a munshi, every one who completed the courses usually prescribed by teachers for the governmental post, could easily add this epithet to his name.

necessities of 'progressive attitude' among the Arabs paved the way for Iranian dominance in scientific investigation. This was one aspect of prose literature. Kingship and hero-worship was another aspect. Matter of fact type of prose was the starting point during the Caliphate of Umar and the climax in Arabic literature was under Marwan the Umayyad when 'flowery' style brought the emotional aspect to the fore front. But it was vaguely realized up to the 9th century and was till then interpreted in terms of vocabulary, simile and metaphor and not in terms of their action and interaction. In the 4th c.A.H. the meaning of the word 'Insha' to originate or to create something new i.e. as a creation it was recognized in 'rough drafting'. During the Ghaznawi period it came to represent the correspondence Department, which had hitherto been called 'Diwan ur Rasail or Diwan-i-Risalat, and the men employed by the department, previously known as Katibs were also called 'Munshis'. Where as in the literature of the Saljuq period apart from its technical sense, which remained the same throughout this period. Insha and Munshaat were used in their <sup>non</sup>technical sense (1). More over the Katibs (i.e. Dabirs and Munshis) were transcribers, Muhasibs (2), drafters of forms, drafters of letters. The technical sense, too was nontechnical, because 'creation' and 'newness' has nothing to do with transcription, auditing and drafting of 'forms' (typical state documents like Sanads etc.etc.). This vagueness necessitated revision. So the second change in the 9th c.A.H. by the 'eminent scholar' and the great administrator Mahmud of Gawan. His division of prose pieces into two groups is a landmark in the annals of Persian prose style. "His work was the ordering of what in most minds was disordered".

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Notes: (1) Any composition (prose or poetry)

(2) It should be cited that there were two types of Katibs, Katib-i-Hisab and the Kuttab-i-Rasail. Both were called munshis. In the 9th c.A.H. they were called Munshian-i-Diwan and Munshis respectively.



What Insha literature is? His answer to this was: It is Khutbah and Rasail. To explain he said, Khutbah is a prose piece which either consists of Yaqiniyyat (convincing us intellectually) or relates axioms (مسلمات مقبوله) (facts generally recognized to be true) or quotes such premises which are not facts, but are taken to be facts (مسلمات مضمونه), or it may consist of all the three. The major point about such a prose piece is that it should either persuade the reader (or listener) or to impress (Tas'ib) him, or should be both simultaneously. Now to explain Risalah, it is a prose piece the aim of which is not to supply information like sciences and which has a necessary quality other than a Khutbah (1). Thus 'Oration' and 'poetic prose' are Insha Literature. The mind in both these categories runs in to speculation because actuality is not the necessary achievement of emotion. For an emotional attitude, fallacy and logic are one and the same thing. Historical data if it is at-all to be there, it is to have its place only as a 'happy extra pleasure'. Gawan did not feel the necessity of saying that letters could be un-emotional. But letters could be unemotional. There is a small number of such letters with Gawan's contemporaries, especially Jami--whose prose with all its poetic garb of vocabulary is dull, drab and lifeless. Gawan probably thought, that the words taken up from the usual emotional context always create emotional attitude in the reader. But it is not correct. An emotional experience has, it is true, to fall back on words taken from emotional context but the existence of emotional language is never a proof that the author has actually experienced (mentally) a certain event himself. If he himself has not felt it (emotionally), he can only appeal to the 'stock conventional attitudes', which are less active in an intelligent reader. In such cases no emotional response from a true reader is possible. The words remain static and the reader unmoved.

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Notes: (1) Mahmud Gawan (Manazir-ul-Insha.MS) fol. 3b.

Gawans contemporary Zamchi (as the contents of his Insha book reveal) is an other example who also seems to hold the view of Insha literature as emotional prose. But unfortunately Yusufi, his successor seems to be following the same old rut.(1). Inspite of all this Gawans views had the day. His definition was later on closely followed by the writers of early Mughal period (Akhbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan) whose 'Insha books' contain the same contents as he had laid down. But during the reign of Aurangzeb, when the vocational elements predominated, the distinction withered away. And we find in the Insha Literature of the second rate writers of that period, office forms, deeds, typical court documents and even the Syaqa. ✓

MUNSHIS.) But, it should in no way be considered that after the Ghaznawids the Diwan-ul-Insha did not remain a state department in the centuries that follow. On the other hand the years that now came needed a better organised department of this type. The Saljuq period had witnessed the importance of a poet and a Katib, the Ilkhani period had realized the necessity of historian and a Munshi. After this the position of a Munshi sank low. He was compelled to work hard for the state but was not amply rewarded. ✓ Dawlat Shah's remarks on the situation, quoted in chapter VI. stand a testimony to it. Mahmud Gawan's attempt at the classification of a munshi shows that the whole blame of deterioration rested on the shoulders of the scribes themselves. But this position did not last long and a state-Munshi again came to prominence. The Mughals in India had a perfect state department of correspondence (2) and a huge staff of scholars was employed to work as Munshis there in. The 'war of nerves' that was under taken by Akbar (India), Abdullah Khan Uzbek (Transoxiana), Abbas II (Persia), and Saleem (Turky) and their successors resulted in the complete victory of, if not the kings themselves at least their Scribes. Abdullah Khan Uzbek feared

- Notes: (1) He in his (Badai-ul-Insha.MS.) divides the Art of Insha (by which he means Insha Literature) in to only two sections eg. Tauqiat (royal order Firmans etc.etc.) and Muhawarat(i.e.Murafa'at Ruqa'at & Murasalat)(p.2a). These are not the only sections of Insha Literature.
- (2) For the details of the administrative machinery under the Mughals, see Sarkar(Mughal administration).Ibn-i-Hasan(central structure).Tripathi(some aspects); Gammisariat(Firmans).and Abul Fadl(Ain-i-Akbari).

Abdul Fadl's pen rather than Akbars sword (1). In fact court patronage gave birth to great stylists of the Persian language. Abdul Fadl, Nasira Hamadani, Tughra Mashhadi, Jalala Tabatabai, Munir Lahawri, Brahman, and Salih Kamboh in India and Tahir Wahid and Zahir Tafrihi in Iran were great munshis. They were great Insha writers because the age in which they lived was rich in emotions. State correspondence was the result of and also a slave to the emotional outbursts of the kings and their courtiers. Yet there were other writers of poetic prose who were not the employees of the correspondence department of the monarch or any Amir. Zuhuri in the Deccan, Faiqi and Abul Fath Gilani, Bedil and Nimat Khan-i-Ali at Delhi are good examples (2).

COURTS & THE PROSE STYLE. ) The necessity for good writers arose from a materialistic out look. This was further necessiated by a craze for good style when Caliphate stepped further from the position of a theocracy to that of monarchy.

BOOKS ON THE ART OF INSHA ) The nature of the correspondence department THREE STAGES.) determined the nature of the Art of Insha. Books were written on the subject from the angle of a utilitarian with I. a rigid conception of his livelihood. In the first place the interest was biographical Masudi mentions seven books under the title 'Akhbar ul Wuzara wal Kuttub', written before the year 320 A.H.(3). These books, as their name and the material drawn from these by this eminent historian would suggest, were historical (i.e. ~~the~~ biographical) works. II. The next step was taken by 'Arabic writing people' simultaneously, dating from the days of the last Umayyid ruler Marwan,

Notes: (1) (Nigaristan-i-Fars) Azad 'under Abul Fadl).

(2) Those Munshis who worked in the correspondence department but have left no 'Insha Literature' have been omitted from the list, For example Warawini of the Seljuq period and Abdullah Wassaif of the Ilkhani period have not been mentioned. The 'tales' of the first and the 'history' of the second will be mentioned at their proper place, only so far as they influenced the Insha literature of other munshis.

(3) Masudi pp. 231, 232, 243, 244.



whose Katib, Abdul Hamid was the first to record the problems of a Katib. His letter (as quoted by Ibn-i-Khaldun(1)) gives a detailed list of how a Katib should behave, what sciences he should learn for his profession and how he should have a control and mastery over the Arabian language and literature. "Learn verses by heart" he wrote for his comrades, "and memorize the Ayyam ul Arab the history of Ajam, the tribes, the Sirat and hisab (calculations)". He fixed the scope of the books on this art and for centuries the books in Arabic were written on these lines. Blind imitation was the fault. Durayd b. Simma once said for such an attitude: "I am of Ghaziyya; If she be in error then I will err; And if Ghaziyya be guided right, I go right with her".

Ibn Qutayba (88 A.H. 276 A.D.)'s Adabul Katib was written on these very lines. It contains vocabulary for vegetables, animals names, adjectives, astronomy, astrology, the species of horses their colours etc. etc. (2). It also has got "stylistic....orthography and orthoepy" (3). We have a large number of such 'guides' in Arabic. For a list of such works the Encyclopaedia of Islam (under Insha) should be consulted. Strictly speaking these are the books for Katibs and not books on the Art of Insha. Besides these Khawarizmi's encyclopaedia of technical terms should also be mentioned, which incidently under the different technical terms of other departments mentions a list of terms connected with Insha where in he includes besides the terms of other departments, the terms we usually come across in books on Ma'ani, Bayan and badi.

III. During the period of Khawarizmi (4th c. A.H.) Sarf-Nahw and Ma'ani o Bayan had been much in the air. The attitude towards the 'decorative elements' had manifested itself, never to leave the domain of literature again. The Katibs realized that good style, was the only basic element in the art and that too in most of the cases 'decorative and flowery'.

The value of these arabic books as scientific works, when judged taking in to consideration the limitations of age, was a step towards the development of Insha as an art.

When Persian language got its birth, it was to face on age of grammarians and stylists. At first it retained its native purity

NOTES: (1) Ibn-i-Khaldun Vol. II. pp. 110 onwards.

(3) Nicholson p. 346. (2) Ibn-i-Qutaibah (contents)



one should keep the form subordinate to content and should be brief, because the Arab Savants have said " Khayrul Kalam-i-Ma Qalla wa dalla" (4). We shall discuss out his view at a later stage, for the present it is sufficient to note that (has laid special stress on 'brievity' (Ikhtisar). Other problems mentioned by him are also strictly speaking problems of Style, with an emphasis on "magnifying the matters or minimizing them or contriving means of excuse and censure". Chahar Maqalah is followed by Wat-Wa (d. 572 A.H.)'s Hadaïqus Sihr, a book on Sanai written for poets and scribes (1) ✓

The introduction of Bahai Baghdad's ✓ At Tawassul ilat Tarassul (674 A.H.) should also be mentioned, which has referred to the problem of style, and has hinted at the necessity of certain style for the Badi. It should here be remembered that during the later years of the Seljuq period 'flowery style' (Masnu) had slowly found its way in Persian prose as well. This also be mentioned that stylistics in those days was needed mainly for 'state correspondence' or Tarassul. After the Seljuq period there is a gap of about two centuries. Amir Khusraw (d. 725 A.H.) wrote a book in 5 volumes in the year 714 or 719 A.H. under the title Ijaz-i-Khusrawi, which is old in structure but original in treatment at some points. The general line of approach taken up in it (2) is the same as in his predecessor Ibn-i-Athir Mawsili (d.687 A.H.) the author of the static and descriptive work Al Mathalus Sair. The first volume has further been divided into ten parts, which are exclusively devoted to the nature, the development and the schools of persian prose style and such words and expressions (3). have been listed which can be used in letters for the sake of word plays,

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Notes: (1) Waṭ waṭ. p.39.

(2) The last volume contains Insha Literature therefore it has been left out for the present.

(3) It also contains long lists of such words and expressions which have double or treble meaning (words used for creating Laṭaif).

(4) Browne's Er. pp. 22, & 24.(with slight variations).



and a special section for rules of associationism (Munasabat), which can be applied in letters and Farmans (i.e. Tarassul). The third risalah<sup>has</sup>~~xxx~~ been devoted to the explanation and illustration of the use of literal and verbal artifices in prose. The Amir in this book has divided the styles prevalent in his period into nine. This division he has made on the lines of professions and has allotted a separate style to the scribes, (Mutarassilana). His own style forms tenth place in this list, He has also mentioned the scope of his first volume in the following words: (1) "This treatise calls upon matured ones of (the field of) fasahat for pupil-ship. It is a link between the arrangement and composition of the sentences of 'Tarassul'. So that if any one, in this path, desires for and inclines to (the attainment of this craft) he should know how to 'fit' in tricky and alert mufrads so that two-fold or threefold definite senses should come under his control, with all vigour. (He should also know) how to "join together" murrakabs so that three fold or fourfold associationism (nisbat) should be tied together tightly". Thus Khusraw ventures at achieving 'fasahat' with three-fold or four-fold meaning, through Senai, Fasahat and Balaghat which are the basis of Maani, Bayan and Badi. Here again the problem of Tarassul centres round the problem of style, which in turn depends for its life on Maani, Bayan and Badi. Khusraw was followed by Muhd.b.Mahmud Amuli Mazandarani (A.H. 735 and 742) who wrote a treatise on the Art of Insha. His work is not available now but we find its summary in his Encyclopaedia Nafais ul Funun. In the Nafais the first chapter is on Adabiyat divided in fifteen branches e.g. Caligraphy, Lughat, Ishtiqaq, Tasrif, Na'w, Maani, Bayan, Badi, Arud, Qawari, Qarush Shir, Amthal, Dawawin (verse booklets), Insha and Istifa. He has devoted one section to each. While discussing the Art of Insha he says,

Notes: (1) Khusraw V.I.P. 62,63. Daulat Shah (p.146) says that Khusraw wrote a book on Istifa. He has probably referred here to Ijaz-i-Khusrawi, which is as is clear from his using the word Istifa for Tarassul) a mistake. He seems to have relied upon some oral statement.

"On the Art of Insha (Ilm ul Insha) it consists of the knowledge of the invisible (that which is hidden in the heart) through written communication, in an appealing language and it also means to look into and care for ones duties as a Katib. It is good craft and an appealing art. This humble writer compiled a tract of this sort on the request of his companions. Here he presents a jist of it in one muqadama (introduction) four chapters and an epilogue" (1). Taking in view the duties of a scribe at the court Amuli gives a long list of court etiquatte necessary for the scribes (as a courtier or court employee), in the muqaddma. As for the literary acquipments of a scribe, he thinks it necessary for him to have a knowledge of the vocabulary of Arabic, poetry Amthal, the structural varieties of constructions from the scholars of Balaghat. Because the decoration of sentences is not possible without the use of Tamathil and Istīarat (2). In the chapters that follow Amuli discusses at full length the technique of court correspondence and gives 'patent phrases and sentences' proper to different occasions. The only deviation that he seems to have made is that he has wholly and solely devoted himself to the technique of letter writing, because Insha at that time meant 'Tarassul', it had not yet been recognised, at least in the books on the art of Insha, anything else but Tarassul in general and court correspondence is particular. Amuli has discussed Maani, Bayan and Badi and encyclopaedial knowledge under different headings, as seperate sciences and has brought the Art of Insha practically to two things e.g. (i) the court etiquatte, (ii) and the technique of letter writing.

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Notes:- (1) Amuli (MS) 50 a

- (2) A later writer Dawlat Shah expresses his expressed wonder at the idea how a simple poem of Rudaki (which is without Sanae Bada'i) could have moved the Samani-prince. He further says that if such a poem is read before a monarch these days he will refuse to listen it. see. p.5.

He forgets that he has himself defined the scope of Insha as "the knowledge of the secrets of heart through recorded communication, in an appealing language". The language is the basic element and not the appropriate beginnings and endings, as he later on himself tries to make us believe (1). There follows again a gap of more than a century and then we come face to face with a new problem. Insha books till this time had brought in their lap all prose composition that did not form a part of any other science. This was most probably due to the fact that the days of political disturbance had followed. The economic depression that had been brought in by the Mongols (which had not so far been seriously felt.) culminated into famines Dawlat Shah tells us that the positions of poets had fallen low (2) and secretaries (scribes) of low birth had come into power (3). Thus the centre of interest of the people shifted from courts to arts and crafts and the scribes now produced what intelligent people of the age were ready to appreciate and not which the kings and rulers and Amirs liked. Muin Zameer's Insha literature (Insha-i-Muin) includes with correspondence the muqaddamat, the alwah, the Khutabas and short anecdotes in it. The need of revaluation arose. Mahmud Gawan (d. 886.A.H.) came to the fore-front with his Manazirul Insha. His theory of style (the basis of emotive prose) as noted before, forms its root

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Notes: (1) Amuli has devoted a separate chapter to the Science, of Isti'fa or as he himself calls it the Diwan and has explained many technical terms concerning the financial problems e.g. Birat, Ta'liq, Mabni, Taslim nama, Mawamirah, Mufasat. It is an excellent chapter and gives a clear looking into the income and expenditure machinery of muslim governments of the 9th century. A.H.

(2) Dawlat Shah. p. 44

(3) Ibid. pp. 117-118.



in the depths of intellectual perfection. A new outlook, a new meaning was introduced. Insha now meant Khutab o Rasail. The emotional link that tied the prose pieces of Zamchi, the factor that ran like a stream through out the middle ages in all state correspondence, was now discovered. His book on this art has got one muqadamah with 7 fasls and two maqalat. His definition of Insha as "the knowledge of the beauties and defects of the construction of prose pieces (1)". After giving a detailed account on 'Ilm-i-Maani Bayan and Badi in his muqadamah, he lays special stress on the accomplishment of Fasaḥat and Balaghat and Majazo haqiqat, the net result of Nahw, Bayan, Badi and Maani. In the main book, he discussed the difference between prose and poetry (2) (Taqaṣṣuṣ-i-Kalam) and hints at the formal division. Then he divides prose into 3 types: Murajjaz, Musajja, and Arī, the one which has a metre and no rhyme, the one which has a rhyme and no metre, the one which has neither metre nor rhyme. After these types, he divides prose into three kinds the Khutab, the Khilafat namahs and the court correspondence. This last section has further been divided into ten kinds or forms of correspondence (3). The second maqalah has been devoted to the technique of letter-writing and drafting of farmans and manshurāt. The epilogue is on Caligraphy. Here too the court (Royal) was not neglected. Husain b. Ali alwaizal Kashifi's Ṣaḥifah-i-Shahi "the rough draft of his other work Makzan ul Insha" is also a work written for the scribes of the court. It is divided into one Unwan, 3 Ṣaḥifas and a Khatimah. In the preface the writer defines this art as: 'It is necessary for a scribe to learn Arabic and Persian verses and the 'Uloom-i-Arabiya and he should also know Fasaḥat and Balaghat so that he may be able to avoid words and phrases which are non Fasih(4)". He divides letter-writing into two; Jawabyat and Khitabyat (letters and their answers) and classifies them.

- Notes: (1) Mahmud Gawan (MS. Manazir ul Insha) 6. a  
 (2) Ibid. 44 a (onwards)  
 (3) Ibid. 46. a & b.  
 (4) Husain Kashifi (MS) 2 b.



Once again the 'Munshi-ship' became a respectable poet. And it again helped the production of the Gaskellian type of 'Insha manuals' and third rate munshis were encouraged to earn their living at either the royal court or with the amirs. Khanzad Khan Amani (d. 1044 or 1046 A.H) was perhaps the first to offer his help to them (1) He was followed by Kamal-ud-Din (1069) (2). Mulla Tughra also wrote one book on this art (3), the treatment of which is not known to us. In 1100 A.H. an other book on this art came into the market (4). But these books did not or perhaps were not able to effect Insha literature any more. The times were helpful and encouraging and the artists tried to live in their arts. Insha literature poured in. The in rush of emotions that the age brought forth never failed the artists. They wrote emotional prose and did not confine themselves to letter-writing only.

In India during the reign of Aurangzeb, a degeneration finds its way. Along with the great writers of this period we find mediocres in plenty. The 'Tadrisi' element (educational) came in full swing. Every writer aimed at fame and name. Each one of them started writing books on Insha and tried to fill the gap which had been brought about by the sudden stop in the constant flow of Iranian writers towards India during the middle of the eleventh century A.H. (5) Both Insha Literature and the Art of Insha suffered a lot at the hands of these novices. This period of decadence is out of the scope of the present work therefore only brief remarks on it will be made. The analytical age that ensued now (through the influence of Hindu writers) produced two master minds as well. Khan-i-Arzu (d. 1169 A.H.) the Aristotilian father of Urdu Literature (as Mohd. Husain Azad calls him (6))

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- Notes: (1) Ind. Office p. 1147 & p. 877 II. foll. 52-102 (مشتی خان)  
 (2) cc A.S.B. pp. 126. (رسالہ در انشا و غیرہ)  
 (3) Rieu. Vol. II. p. 44 foll. 195-207) (خودکاشتہ) says Khud Kashtahis on the art of writing.  
 (4) Ind. Office p. 1157.  
 (5) Najib Ashraf. p. 24.  
 (6) Azad (Ab) p. 121.



wrote his Dad-i-Sakhun and the Muthmir Muhabat-i-Uzma and Atyya-i-Kubra and discussed the theory of style at full detail. He was followed by Mirza Muhammad Hasan Qatil (b. 1170 A.H.) (1) who wrote Shajrat ul Amani, Char Sharbat and Nahurl fasahat on the art of Letter writing. There were other writers of lesser importance on this art, among whom Inderjit Haqir (A.H. 1130) (2) Syed Ali Naqi Khan (3) Ranjur Das Jaunjuri (4) (A.H. 1145), Munshi Sh. Yar Muhammad Qalander (5) (A.H. 1156-57), Warasta (6) (1168 A.H.) Abdul Mojiz Arshad Ashraf Khayal (7) (1190 A.H.), Bhopat Rai (8) and Mir Ridwi (9) need be mentioned. /

Notes:- (3) Ind. Office. p. 1173-4. Rieu Vol. II. p. 520-31.....

(4) Ind. Office. p. 1163 (3 copies) Bod. L.Cat. p. 851...  
cc A.S.B. p.134. and P.U.L.

(5) Ind. Office. p.1169. Baki. Vol. 9. p. 134.

(6) Printed (Pub. L)-----Matla'us Sadain (مطلع السدين)

(7) cc A.S.B. p.138. (Fanus-i-Khayal. (فانوس خیال))

(8) India. Office p.1174 A.V. A.S.B. p.178 Rieu. Vol. III.  
p. 1043. V. foll. 87-103, Banki. Sup. p. 144, IV.

foll. 93-154. & P.U.L. Dastur-i-Shigirf. (دستور شگرف)

(9) Ind. Office. Vol. I. p. 1218. Khizan-o-Bahar. (خزان بهار)

(1) See. My article on Mirza Qatil. O.C.M.(d) May, 1943.

(2) Rieu. Vol. III. p. 1043. Bod. L.Cat. p.850 (مطالع السدين)

Chapter II

THE ART OF INSHA (Continued)

## CHAPTER. II.

### THE ART OF INSHA. (continued).

INSHA IS MAINLY A)  
PROBLEM OF STYLE.)

✓ What after all, does the distinction between *Ilm-ul-Insha*, *Ma'ani*, *Bayan* and *Badi* come to? So far now I have kept the question at arms length, though the reader may have seen it closing upon me. The problem is an intricate one. *Insha Literature* had been, in the beginning, limited to *Darbars* where language had been the chief concern; for perfection in 'diction' was means to high post and (high) fat salary. The Art of Insha was to supply such ambitious persons with the proper instrument. '*Ilm-i-Ma'ani*, '*Ilm-i-Bayan* and '*Ilm-i-Badi* were there. The general knowledge was also necessary for Secretaries and Scribes. Books were written in which, the two elements, ~~the~~ language II, and general knowledge, were contained. It was now very vaguely taken to mean '*Ilm-ul-Insha*. Again a change came and now '*Ilm-ul-Insha* meant two things I. Style II. Technique of letter-writing. Again the scene changed and *Insha Literature* meant 'emotional prose' and the Art of *Insha* the problem of style. Now it became one with *Ma'ani* and *Bayan* and *Badi*. All the three elements, when applied to emotional prose meant '*Ilm-ul-Insha*.

These phases in the development of this art suffer from defects. Taking up the final one, we find that '*Ilm-i-Ma'ani*, '*Ilm-i-Bayan* and '*Ilm-i-Badi* were applied to both prose and poetry.



When applied to emotive prose they were named Ilm-ul-Insha. How is that a science should change its name each time the different positions it takes at different times? The nature of a science, which is applicable to all arts does not change with the change of object. Certain uniformity should be observed. Maani Bayan and Badi should bear the same name when applied either to prose or poetry. But we find in books on the Art of Insha chapters relating to the detailed problems concerning letter writing. We have so far, consciously made a sharp distinction between the two types of problems in the fore-going passages. We have named the first as principles and the second as technique. The technique of letter writing relates to only one branch of prose and should find place as a preface to collections on 'prose letters' and not a part of Insha as such. The fundamentals should not be confused with the details. These two should be kept apart for better understanding of literary discussions. Our subject suffers from many such disadvantages. The problem of style has got in some of the languages two aspects: Grammar and Rhetoric. Here we face four aspects; namely Alm-i-Sarf-o-Nahw Maani, Bayan and Badi. All the four aim at the same end of making a prose piece (or poetry) intelligible, expressive, Fasih and Baligh (1). ✓

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Notes: (1) Qatil defines Balaghat as: Ist-a 'a-rat with Qarain, Kinayat-i-Baligh agreebale Majazat, novel and uncommon similes, care for the figures of thought, care for the occasion, careful avoidance of useless words and attempt at keeping the composition congenial to general taste. (Shajarat-ul-Amani. p. 17. Fará 6th).

It is absurd to make each part a separate science. We shall, in order to save time, call 'ilm-i-Bayan, Ma'ani and Badi' as Rhetoric and the Sarf-u-Nahw as Grammar. The first deals with the communicative efficiency and inefficiency and the second with the structural accuracy and in-accuracy of a composition. It is true the word Rhetoric suffers from certain etimological disadvantages (1) but the reader should remember that words are only projections towards ideas and the ideas that it should project now is the one stated above. This basic defect of considering one science as sciences led to blunders in other fields. The details of the Science of Rhetoric were marked out. The principles were categorized as Ahwal-i-Isnad-i-Khabari; Musnad, Musnad ilah, mut-a-laqat-i-fil, Qasr, Jumla-i-Inshayya, fasl-o-wasl, Ijaz, Itnab, Musawat; Majaz-o-Haqiqat; Sana'i Lafzi and Sana'e Ma' nawi---it seems to us at the first glance, so very not pertinent and so easily demonstrable by examples that we cannot succumb to the danger of under-estimating the value of such ideas. But they are only disjoined fragments. We do not find the connection that is supposed to exist between each of these items. The links are not to be found stated in black and white. Old scholars perhaps wanted to be precise and clear or perhaps they were afraid of exposing themselves to the danger of references and cross-preferences which necessarily involve other sciences besides Rhetoric.

Notes: (1) Ordinarily the word Rhetoric should not include rules for all prose pieces because the Greek derivative *ῥητορική* (Webster's Dictionary p.831) means oration or (Khatib) so indicating the need for rules and regulations for oration only, to the exclusion of all other branches of literature where style plays its part. The Greek derivative indicates (and for the present it should indicate this and this only that) of all the branches of literature in Greek oration was the first to develop. Hence this defect.

working out the intricacies of problems. The pity was the slight effect the science produced.

Notes: (1) Longinus (On Sublime). p.4.

"If Arab education suffers from any one melody, it is that of unwarranted attention to grammar and rhetoric Arabic education was never over burdened with new ideas and it is ideas and not the mere study of words which will effect its salvation to day (1)". Now to revert once again to logic as a help to Rhetoric we would, even at the risk of being monotonous repeat one thing: Rhetoric was never allowed to have its full play in the theory of style other wise it would have been presented to us as an organic whole. For instance if we were allowed to explain the position of style in our own words, taking ourselves back in imagination to an old eastern city and keeping in view the intellectual level of audience, I would explain to them as to how the mind worked. It is an indispensable preliminary to all problems pertaining to language. Bu'Ali-Sina's (4th. C.A.H.) theory of brain localization which devotes to each one of the major senses a circumscribed area of the cortex though based on crude experimentation and simple reasoning, is the only possible clue to our problem (2)-----

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Notes: (2) But this localization differed basically from that of Gall's in the fact that the original five senses (external) had their local (internal) proto-types. All the five senses had parallels in five internal senses and the cortex was the storehouse of these internal senses only. Gall was the exponent of the theory of localization in 1800 A.D. in Europe. Woodworth attacked his method through biological data because "all the sensory and motor areas together make up but the smallest part of the cortex of man". (Contemporary Schools of Psychology pp. 89-90) Gall believed it possible to make out the surface of the brain into a large number of areas; one for friendliness, one for acquisitiveness one for reverence one for wit, one for language and so on. It did not depend on any physiological study of the brain. Recent researches in Neurology have proved such localizations to be absurd. The establishment of the principle of equipotentiality of the cortex: "any part of the cortex is potentially the same as any other in its ability to take part in any sort of learned performance." (Ibid. p. 91-92).

Bu 'Ali's bogus entity made the solution to literary problems some what easy. A Platonian world of patterns was manufactured in the brain in order to link up the 'mind' with the 'brain'. The linking element was Logos (نطق) a metaphysical term. It was also the controlling factor.



Every science was kept in a water tight compartment even at the risk of being misunderstood. This was not the end of the difficulty. They tried to make the science of Ma'ani, the science of Bayan and the science of Badi (all Rhetoric) each self-sufficient. We get at least one such example where the help of logic was taken but with a different terminology. The technical term of Dalalat was taken from logic. Its three kinds e.g. Lugwi, Hissi and Aqli were replaced by grammarians by Wadi'a, Tabi'a and Kulli. The domain of Rhetoric was saved from logicians. What a success!!! The defect lies in the perfection or over perfection of this science (Rhetoric). The word perfection here, does not denote systematization, because that can never be called a defect. All that we want to say is that the system is so elaborate that it is beyond all human endeavours to learn it up in a limited time. It may be helpful to critics and readers but it is certainly not helpful to authors for whom it was originally intended. We are in no way minimizing the necessity of instruction and education, for it plays a great part in the development and perfection of style. "All greatness", "says Longinus", is exposed to a danger of its own, if left to itself, without science to control"(1). That much for the old age. But was this helpful for those for whom it was intended? //The whole host of technical terms, that was the fault. One can argue that it was good in some way. It can be said that this army of technical terms entered the minds of the students as quickly as it left them. To be sure if at all it left them, it left them a miserable creature. But it was not so. The ideas once imbibed in a mind with the help of a stick and the awe of a teacher, always haunted the poor man. So much so that no course was left to him except imitation. He was allowed in a very limited sense to show his originality. He only revealed originality in working out the intricacies of problems. The pity was the slight effect the science produced.

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This was the only conception of mind known to scholars of old.

WORDS: After this I would prefer discussing the problems of Words. The definition of a word (Kalimah) according to this conception can be no other than that it is the smallest unit, which is the result of the sense impressions of an individual in a particular situation, through one of the five (external) senses and conditioned into an utterance through the action and interaction of the five (internal) senses, with the help of the logos. A word is an 'expressed idea', while un-expressed it is only Ma'ana (idea); but when uttered, it has got either the two qualities of being a word and also a sign for a certain meaning or only the first. In the last mentioned case it is called a "meaningless word" ( *مفرد* ) (in Urdu).

In this way the links of the dead science can be rebuilt with the help of Logic. But we would not trace the previous history of each term of Grammar and Rhetoric in this manner, the scope of the present topic not allowing such details. I shall mention only those basis points about this art, that had a direct influence on the tone of Insha Literature. The point worth noticing about the above definition of a word is that I. the ancients had a theory of style which suffered at their hands on account of their leaving it un-explained as a system. They stated its rules in the form of catalogues II. The second point that I want to bring home to the reader is the old conception of language--the basic division of a unitary utterance into Lafz (form) and Ma'ana (content).

SENTENCES: Now let us take up words in relation to sentences and leave out all the other problems of Grammar which though they play their part in the development of a style are not directly connected with it. From the very start the division between word and meaning was probably metaphorical, but the factors prevalent in an age of Humanism led to other complications. The tendency of 'hero worship', the racial qualities of the Iranians, court patronage and similar other factors which will be discussed at their proper place, helped brooding a misconception. The 'vehicle' was replaced by 'tenor'. The metaphor was taken too seriously and the

two interdependent parts started developing separately. At first, the division had been made to save the situation but the metaphysical contemplation and other speculative movements, along with religious tendencies of the later Umayyid period, made the confusion more confounded. The tendency of taking 'meanings' and 'words' as separate entities and thinking the first as the 'body' and the <sup>eco</sup> sand as the dress, words and meaning were placed under separate camps. The link that joined the two lost its importance. Such a tendency could easily give way to an attitude to tricks and word plays, which if taken too seriously ruin the Artist. In most of the cases the Kalimat in place of becoming smallest 'thought units' depending for their meaning on the context, become static cubits to be arranged at will. This brought about disastrous results.

COMMUNICATION: Now let us devote ourselves to the problem of communication in general (1). To speak a language correctly is the basic point about communication, therefore *Ṣarf* and *Nahw* is the inherent quality of relationship between man and man. But this is not the whole of the matter. "Arts are the supreme form of communicative activity" and the artist has to achieve this perfection whether he gets it consciously or unconsciously. If a piece of literature fails entirely as a vehicle of communication we are bound to deny its very existence as a piece of art. But communication is not a criterion of value. Because value is the final achievement, the destination is only a means however perfect it may be.

For the problem cited above, the Savants of the East suggested the division of *Maana* and *lafz*. But nearly all of the unfortunately confused means with the ends. They stressed the linguistic aspect and based on it their whole theory of value.

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Notes: (1) "Communication takes place when one mind acts upon its environment that another mind is influenced, and in that other mind an experience occurs, which is like the experience in the first-mind, and is caused in part by that experience".  
 I. A. Richards (principles). p.177.

Faṣāḥat and Balaghat were the only qualities of a good piece of literature. It is true that the contents have 'no value' in an emotional piece, but we should not forget that the emotions work deeper than the phonetic values of words and syllables. The value of contents in pieces of literature, (emotional), is to be determined in relation to the situation (emotions). If the words contribute to the final end, art is achieved. But the old writers had no conception of emotions, they had no word in their vocabulary for it. They conceived 'emotions' in terms of 'ideas' (logical) and their greatest achievement was in minimizing or magnifying matters". The element of 'sound values' was stressed too much by these Rhetoricians. The definition of Faṣāḥat forms a good example.

(1). A composition is faṣīḥ when the sentences are free from 1. Tanafur in words and letters 2. when it is free from derangement in its order 3. continuity of Idafat 4. defective expression, 5-  
*repetition of the same word.*  
 Out of these 1, 2, and 5 lay stress in this aspect. Not that the stress laid on this aspect was wrong, for the sounds of words do play a part in emotional prose pieces, but the mistake lies in the fact that the classifications are too rigid and they exhaust all possibilities of further combinations of sounds. A piece of literature is too varied a phenomena, and the sound values of words rely for their effect on one another to such extent that every single letter loses its original powers as a set of 'sound units' and its value as a sound is determined at such occasions in relation to the sounds of other words. Each word also derives its sound value from the contents in which it has been used before----i.e. the sound of a word has a link with the meaning and history of the one who utters them. To argue that a Kalimah is free from Tanafur when it carries a "fixed sound value" is the delight of Rhetoricians and nothing more (2). The words which contain letters

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- Notes: (1) Najmul Ghani. p. 344. & also Dabir-i-Ajam. p.64.  
 (2) The army of critics who have attempted to analyse the effects of passages into vowel and consonantal collocations have in fact been merely amusing themselves. Richards (Principles). p.137.



with sounds from the nearest sources (labials ,gutturals ect) or from the same sources are worst than others, is a falacy. The exclusion of words from the Poetic vocabulary in this way has done more harm than good to literature in general. The words lose their original 'softness' according to the context in which they are used. Their sounds can be lowered or intensified according to the situations in which they are used. More over a piece of literature can be of little value even if it achieves all the 'perfections' collected under the general headings of Fasahat and Balaghat. Because in Rhetoric there is no security of, or even the latitude for an easy flow of emotions. It is checked at every turn by such figures of speech which have no direct concern with the contents of literature. Muwa-Sh-Shah, Murabā, Raqtā, Muāmah and Lughz, are in all cases the accentricities of a reader and in most of the cases follies of an artist. So much mathematical speculation can never produce good prose, to say the least of emotional prose pieces, where the danger done to the whole emotive experience is greater than the applause received from a morbid listener.

MA'ANI. Out of the eight chapters on Ma'ani; the Ahwal-i-Isnad-i-Khabari, Musnad, Musnad, alah, māta laqat-i-fel, Qasr, Insha and Faal-o-wasl are concerned with Grammar and discuss the relations of thoughts with the structural positions and give lists of possibilities where a writer can find chances for deviation from the rules of Sarf'nahw. The scope of omissions (عزوفات) of some parts of sentences in ordinary discourse or writing depends entirely on how far the content is saved from misunderstanding when the latitudes recognised by general consent are 'legal'. The 'legality' is dangerous to works of art. In all communication, the writer has got a vague idea of a reader present before him, but it should be kept vague and should never be defined in terms of "limitations on vocabulary and communication". Because to an artist the all important motive is not the reader but the 'matter communicated'.

Therefore the whole of these sections in books of Ma'ani are not useful for they legalize a few of the possibilities of omission ( *سزومات* ) and leave out the rest to winds. In fact there are thousand and one possibilities of omissions and the judge of such situations is not the rhetorician but the writer himself. He is to include or exclude any phrase or sentence according to the demand of the occasion. The demand of the occasion is restricted by the relation of the artist to his audience no doubt, but it is also restricted by the content of the piece itself, its sequence, its relations with what has gone before and what will follow, along with all and not some of the parallel situations presented by the previous scholars.

✓ Now to take up the last item of Ma'ani. *باب الطباب*.....and....., here the method should be appreciated. A piece of literature is either 'clumsy' (1) or 'deeps' and in all genuine pieces there is depth. When ever literature remains below this level, it is not art. 'Clumsiness' is a discredit and the value starts its wheels only when 'Clumsiness' leaves the place. Where there is no art, there is no grading. Every art is only then called an art, when its relations to 'depth' are solid and well established. Grading here, is a matter of quality and not quantity and we cannot divide it in to two or three parts. So it is wrong to divide each one of these three terms in to two branches of good and bad. But we should not loose sight of the fact that once such a division is accepted it must produce some results on the literature concerned.

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- Notes: (1) A piece of literature is clumsy when the communication is not perfect, when it is perfect it is deep, in emotional works of art clumsiness is not the result of lack of logical coherency and lack of logical compactness, what a work of art needs in such cases is emotional compactness. It is the emotional economy of words and not their logical economy which is to be stressed for example . see the verse:
- سید چهری پرست، آن نگارین خوشتر بودم / بشاخ فصلین پیچیده، بارین آتشین*  
*سید چهری پرست، آن نگارین / بشاخ فصلین پیچیده، بارین*  
 and Hazins Islah....
- Here in the logical economy has been stressed which has thrown out a part of the total emotional experience

This division was the result of synthetic attitude. All classical authors thought in 'slices' and judged in 'abbreviations'. They always took thoughts out of their places (contents) and considered them in isolation. They took out from their experiences necessary parts in forms of logical formula and logical statements and then tried to rebuild the whole of their mental experience with their help of these statements. The 'expansion' took place. The first step was " ابواب " and if any other steps in its place was taken it was either " امجاد " or " امداد " .

BAYAN: Ma'ani was according to most of them the basic aspect of style and Bayan was intended to add beauty as an additional or decorative quality of expression. We have seen that the basic problems were invariably connected with details that is why we, inspite of all attempts at keeping ourselves nearer to Grammar could not avoid mentioning the relations of a writer's experience with the rest of the world, i.e. his ways of making himself intelligible to the world outside. But now we face a different phenomenon. Bayan as explained by Ruhi (1) is a code of rules to express an idea in different ways. This author discusses Dalalat, Tashbih and Ist'arah and Majaz-i-mirsal and Kinaiya under it. But this definition cannot be accepted without reservations: If a prose piece is scientific, the idea expressed will remain almost the same, because the reference will have to occur at every step. But if it is emotional the idea expressed will change in effect each time, because the words will change and it will create everytime different associations and different moods in a reader. The change of mood will result in the change of meaning (sense) each time.

Another division we also find originating from the basic division of معنی and لفظ but forming a part of the topic Bayan i.e. the division of a 'word' into Majazi and Haqiqi.

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Notes: Ruhi. p.203.

This same definition is used for Badi by Gladwin see. p.10. Where in he says -- بديع is the art of arranging the words of discourse with elegance and precision.



This is nearer to reality. To express ideas in terms of other ideas and object, that was <sup>مجبوری</sup>..... This deduction of ours, though not put in these words by any of the Rhetoricians do not include any discussion on Dalalat while discussing Ma'ani, Bayan and Badi. Wat-wat includes all the possibilities of metaphorical (مجازی) representation under a single heading (صانع). Sanai. The influence of this author on his age and subsequent centuries was overwhelming. With Wat-wat Bayan and Badi are one; . This consciousness of writers at Haqiqat and Majaz led them to divide their schools of style in to Matbu and Masnu a strange division. These two schools of style influenced rhetoric again and the cleavage between Majaz and Haqiqat was never bridged over.

The achievement that this system made was only in this domain. The metaphorical (مجازی) interpretation of ideas and its subsequent classifications Tashbih, Istisarah, Majaz-i-Mursal and Kinayah are indeed great achievements. They are attempts at clear thinking, though most of the writers consider them to be mere ornaments (1). The rich and lengthy categories are our great triumph and facilitate all possible means of clear thinking. The division of Tashbih into four parts had been an intelligent step towards the attainment of proper thinking and of coming over the difficulties of language. This was one good aspect of the problem. But is such an awareness of the detailed theory, with possibilities turned into rules, helpful to the artist in general? The answer is ~~probably~~ in the negative. To point out an other defect, our languages even to day are not rich in emotive metaphors (2) -----a great drawback indeed. If such metaphors are allowed to enter our system of Bayan-o-Badi it will be the most perfect.

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- Notes: (1) Wat-wat. p. 29.....  
 (2) Khan Arzu was aware of this in the case of <sup>تعلیل</sup> but did not know how to link it up with other items of rhetoric. see his Atiyah-i-Kubra. p.37.

We have been considering 'emotive metaphors' as a part of Muhawart and Ruzmarah, which in fact it is not (1). We should not treat these necessities as embellishments. There are other *Sanai* also. All these have been classified in to two group *Sanai lafzi* and *Sanai Ma'anawi*. This division is not new. Longinus a 3rd century writer, the famous minister of Zenobia of Palmyra says (2): "Figures seem to fall under two heads, figures of thought and figures of diction..." The above mentioned list of metaphors (including smilies) should form a part of the second group, its other relatives being, *Iyham*, *Khayal* and *Ighraq*. All these are ways of thought rather than 'ornamentation'. But the other group *Sanai Lafzi* is purely based on the conception of 'sound values'. The only *Sanai* which can enter compositions without any violation of the 'matter communicated' are *Tajniha* (not all but two of its branches), *Muraa-tunnazir* and *Tarsi*. The rest of these are mathematical puzzles, though interesting in themselves but contributing neither to the total effect of a composition nor facilitating clarity of expression and clear thinking.

*Husn-i-Takhallus* and *Husn-i-matla*(1) belong to the technique of Qasida and should not be included either in Bayan or Badi. To sum up the situation we find two marked points about the problem of style. 1. The 'galvanizing' attitude regarding language in general with metaphysical pursuits in particular and 11. the two schools of style.

Before tabulating its detailed influence on the styles of different authors, which will be the subject of subsequent chapters III, IV, V, VI, VII, and VIII, we shall try here, to find out the underlying attitude that brought about the above mentioned idiosyncracies.

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Notes: (1) We call a man 'swine' it is an emotive metaphor. There is no .... in it. Because the man neither resembles in appearance to swine nor he is dirty. All that we are doing here is to invoke in the listener the same attitude, which he usually feels at the look of a swine. (see A. Richards. practical. Appendix)

(2) Longinus (On Sublime) p.13.

(1) Wat-wat. p. 30.31,32.

INFLUENCE OF ) The psychology of language in Arabic, got its  
UMAYYAD PERIOD.)

root in an age of Humanism, wherein the words and syllables were held to be all important. It was bound to influence the theory of style in general. Thus originated the 'galvanizing attitude', Court influence strengthened the bond of 'ornamentation'; The Style as an applied ornament was the conception. Other complications followed. Words were used for word plays and metaphors and similies for decoration.

THE INFLUENCES OF ) This was not a new attitude. Greek rhetor-  
GREEK RHETORIC ON)  
ARABIC RHETORIC. ) icians and also their successors in England and else-where held the same view about language and they thought "metaphors as jewels sewn upon the stout fabric of a narrative, so that if it were taken away the fabric would be left as durable and serviceable as it was before(1)!" Among the works of Aristotle known to Muslim philosophers was his *Alkhataba* (Rhetoric)(2). Aristotle's 'Rhetoric' deals with the grammar of style and composition"and the prose with which he dealt we must remember---- was that of the spoken word"(3). To the contemporaries of Aristotle that art of speech was "the faculty of discovering all the possible means of persuasions in any subject" (4). But he never forgets "the power of working upon the emotions"(5) and finds an easy link with dialectics and ethics(6). "He does not investigate what is probable to each individual, as to Socrates or Hippias but what is probable to persons of a certain character (7)". Aristotle was the "Encyclopaedia Britanica" of Greece, "But it is difficult to be enthusiastic about Aristotle because it was difficult for him to be enthusiastic about anything. His motto... is to admire of marvel at nothing, and we hesitate to violate his motto in his ease(8)". He collected and arranged all that his age gave him, without any contribution of his own, except in syllogisms. To the scholars of that time the objects of poetry was to instruct and to delight, where as that of an orator or writer of prose to persuade.

Notes: (1) Murry. p.12. (2) Scott James. p.75. (4) Aristotle (Rhetoric) Eng. Tr. p.10. (5) Ibid. p.12. (2) See. Shuistry (culture) Vol. II. p. 330-81. (6) Aristotle. p.12. (7).Ibid. p.15. (8)Will Durant (The story of philosophy) p.101.



The ages that followed, held the same conception about prose and poetry. The voice of Longinus remains still a mystery. His treatise 'On the Sublime' is an unexpected and unexplained phenomena. He belongs to no tradition, no school, no age. He was not satisfied with the notions of his predecessors. "He knew all the 'rules' so well that it may have seemed to him, when he was explaining to his pupils the figures of speech and the art of composition, that nothing remained but that they should go and apply the rules and turn out Iliads or Philippics by the dozen. This will please, that will persuade. What could be simpler? And what more absurd? For we cannot thus account for passion of Homer or the "Demosthenic Sublimity". It is not enough. There is some thing in the experience of literature which the formula has not allowed for (2)" But he had contributed at least one thing. Emotions had totally been left out and Longinus was the first to point out that thought and language, in literature are for the most part interfolded with each other. This link had long been overdue. In Palmyra Longinus had performed his duties as a minister to Queen Zenobia (3). But Arabs do not seem to have taken any lesson from him. They seem to be holding the classical view about style. The historical back-ground of this imitation of the Greek classical writers is still in the dark. Recent researches have not explored this field yet Neoplatonic influences have been retraced so far, but Greek Rhetoric still needs an efficient hand to trace back its influence on the man of the desert. For the present we can satisfy ourselves with the philosophic assumption that similar circumstance produce exactly the same results every where. The arabs had Khutabat and it was bound to result in the direction of 'persuasion'.

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Notes:- (5) Scott James. p.76.

(2) Ibid. p.85.

(3) The period under review is 3rd. C.A.D.

But what about Longinus? We do not find a single footprint of this intelligent man on the sands of Arabia. The Arabs after Islam, had to bear the 'Ajami brunt in the sphere of letters. The linguistic element was stressed too much. The authors of Arabic and subsequently of Persian language became (under the guidance of rhetoric) over conscious of their own writings. No remedy was suggested for the emotions, except only in the case when the tempo of the age was high in its emotional fervour. It was this factor that produced good literature and not the theory of style, the influence of which was otherwise. Emotions had no place in the theory and were considered to be the individual concern of a writer. The majority of scholars worked diligently on polishing the language and decorating it with metaphors and similies. Matbú and Maṣnú were the only schools of style and every scholar who rigidly followed these schools was a great writer. Excellence in language, that was what the age needed for the praise of 'Kings' and 'Heros'. No check was there on productions without life and vigour. Much that was not literature went under this name, only if it was polished. We should not forget that the fine edge of words is not the only achievement in communication and that "no amount of correctness in Grammar and composition is enough to make a positive style even in the sense of technique of expression (1)". The only remedy that was suggested during the Seljuq period and after was in the form of figures of speech ( *مناج* ) and after the period of Aurangzeb in the form of long lists of Mutálaqat-i-Shíri and Munasabat-i-Shíri (2). But it is not enough because it is not always that emotive words convey emotions.

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Notes: (1) Murry. p.7.

(2) The method was popular with Nakhshabi the contemporary of Khusraw also. His *chahil Namus* is an example. But the method was not very popular at that time. It was after Aurangzeb that it was appreciated by the majority of scholars.

In Arabic literature the tendency developing in 'word plays' resulted primarily in prose, due to the emotional utterances of the early musulman Khateeb and pre-islamic semi-religious intoxications of the Kahians. This could easily connect Masnu language of poetry with Masnu style of prose. At the beginning Persian prose style, but during the Seljuq period (cf. chapter III), both persian prose and poetry had to give way to the taste of the intelligentsia (Masnu) or the current taste--'Time spirit' as Schuking would like to call it. The Masnu the popular style of scholars was recognised to be the medium of emotional attitude, to the negligence of Matbu (which could also convey emotions, but these people thought it could not serve the purpose). Masnu led them to extremes. The out look of writers towards words became inorganic. It led to three complications in style. The ruinous "double mental activity", the useless "word plays" and the unnecessary care in 'polishing' and 'decorating' the prose pieces were the direct decedents of this evil. Nizami Arudi feared this that is why he said,

(باید که) انشا بآید، حسن آید و سخن کوتاه گردد و در هر کلام یک معنی باشد و هیچ کلامی افزوده نشود

i.e. "The form should necessarily be subordinated to the content so that the work be brief. When the form is dominant over the content the result is of a considerable length". This unnatural awareness towards the 'galvanization' of language and not towards the communicative efficacy led the language to regions where not only the scientific approach to problems became difficult, but in a way it affected the emotional prose pieces as well, and gave way at least in some cases, to 'ready made attitudes'. In such instance of 'patent sentences plus patent ideas', the importance of a writer liking for the superficial and the superflous is in no way to be minimized. Such attempts at "Pattentization" are of course largely personal, but social forces and tradition too play their part in the making of a personality. To measure the quantity of such influences accurate to decimals is neither possible nor necessary.



THE RELATION OF )  
 INSHA LITERATURE )  
 WITH THE THEORY OF )  
 STYLE. )

The discussion would not be complete if we do not have a bird-eye-view of Insha literature itself. Because by analysing it we shall be able to see its relations with the theory of style. But we should not forget: "Whether we are active as in speech or writing or passive as readers or listeners; in both these cases the 'matter communicated' is a continuation of several contributory functions of different types (1)". These functions of language have been divided into four categories, namely sense, feeling, tone and intention (2)". The sense and intention have been dealt with by our rhetoricians. Taking the first two, we find that in emotional prose pieces, feeling (our reaction towards the thing said) dominates the sense (bare meaning of the word). In persian language the emotive prose started with 'Correspondence' and Maqamat, and though it was not always logical, it had at least a semblance of logic (3). The other two factors intention and tone were the guiding factors, where in great pains were taken for making the writer intelligible by keeping him in proper limits. Coherency and logical sequence (relation of one sentence to another) became logical. But it also became typical, because the logic applied was not dynamic; it was a code of rules. To be logical was an achievement but to be typical was harmful.

Due to this logical coherency deemed essential, the intellectual element was never subordinated to the emotional. Thanks to Aristotle and to syllogism, logic and emotions had equal play or rather inter play in works of emotional attitude.

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Notes: (1) I.A. Richards (practical) p.180.

(2) Ibid. pp. 180-183.

(3) By "semblance of logic" I, mean fallacies and manipulations.

The scale setting the balance between these two was at first in the form of *Ṣanaʿ* but after Aurangzeb in long list of *Muta'alaqat-i-Shīri* and *Manasabat-i-Shīri*. At times this can work well and can bring home to the author the mood (1) relevant to these words, but not always.

The writers path was constantly haunted by Sanad Talabi. He was not allowed to use any word or expression that was not included in the lists of rhetoricians; and there too, he was not allowed to use it in any other way except that already tabulated there. Those lists ought to have been treated as a few of the many thousand possibilities but Club System reduced it to matter of choice only. No one was allowed to go beyond it because in that case he was asked to quote some authority in his favour that had allowed that particular deviation. The authors, therefore, never tried to be original or to be fresh. Only that scholar could do this, who was feared by all the rest either through some accident or birth or through the excellence of his memory. In the last case he could quote the deviations of his predecessors in defence of his own. *Ṣafir Bilgrami's* story is a good example. Who could violate after all, the rules of a club and bear the disgrace of being readily refused entrance. Originality was further restricted by the fact that Persian writers generally did not take experiences as experiences, they reduced them to logical statements. This attitude was very successful in Ghazal, the only appropriate pattern for such attempts. But in prose (emotional prose) it always required an efficient hand to achieve success, because the canvas was vast and the theory of style did not help authors in this respect.

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Notes: (1) Past recollections and rambles can be brought home through association of ideas but if a writer is conscious of what he is doing, it can never be set into practice. Over consciousness for perfection in language was an other hinderence to it and Sanad Talabi was yet another.

Letters and Dibachas usually suffer from this defect but Maqamats, Marthia ha<sup>e</sup> Nathr, Ta'rifat, Sifat, Mubahathat, and Naql are safe from this, because fallacies and free association of ideas, revaries and flights of imagination were there to help the authors. In letters and Dibachas the documentary aspect was usually not ignored. It restricted the scope and volume of emotions in some respects and allowed its flow only in "adjectives" and the like.

KHUSRAW'S ) Khusraw too like all other Eastern writers  
THEORY OF STYLE.)  
has fallen into the misconception that the relation of words to their meanings is the same as the garb to the body, and that the triumph lies in blending the two. This conception of putting words and their meanings into separate groups is the result of Arabic influence, which its turn was directly connected with <sup>u</sup>Khitabat and Maqamat. When both the speaker and the listener are face to face with one another, the intention to impress takes the upper hand and words change in to coats of aonion. In England where in the 16th c A.D. the listener became a reader and the tie between an author and his admirer became less visible, this disease could not flourish. In persian the case was otherwise. Court influences had always their play. The tendency 'to impress' was always present. In India these influences are easily traceable in Amir Khusraw during whose life time India witnessed Balban's autocratic policy of attaining conspicuous distinction.

The second possibility of Ilkhani influence on India is of a later date and need not detain us here. The major influence I, suppose was the theory of style itself.

Up to the time of Khusraw, prose (as well as poetry) had been divided into two schools---Matbu<sup>6</sup> and Maṣnu<sup>6</sup>. During the 6th c A.H. the idea of 'artifices' was greatly resented in Persian literature by the author of Qabus Nama<sup>6</sup>. Nizami 'Aruḍi too has stressed the priorty of content over the form and so asked his fellow scholars to avoid that 'clumsiness' which is the result of word plays, through 'brevity'.



But we should not forget that Nizami<sup>Arzi</sup> had also the tendency of going towards Maṣnū, because after deciding upon Dabiri as a 'craft' he recommends Maqamat-i-Ḥamidi for study. His distinction of Lafz and Mānī as separate entities seems to be more metaphorical than real. Khusraw's conception of style cannot fully be discussed without taking into consideration his own prose style. His style was influenced by the curriculum of the age. Maqamat-i-Ḥariri was committed to memory by students of that age (1). This was probably the basic incentive with Khusraw. Did he acquire anything through the influence of contemporary Khurasan? Probably not. Because the Ilkhāni Persian literature had just come in vogue. Up to the compilation of Ijāz-i-Khusrawī (retouched in 719 A.H.) no prose writer had produced anything of note except Āṭa Malik Juwainī (2). Khusraw's own aggressive personality (details will be given at its proper place), the result of his position in his family and later on at the court, worked upon his early education. He says, throughout his writings, at the pitch of his voice that he was not ready to die an ordinary death (3). The result was that he went through the main portion of the previous literature and tried to reevaluate it. He categorized Persian prose styles into nine, according to 'professions'--- the first breach from the schools of style theory. The tenth he adds his own, forgetting totally that his own style does not conform to any single profession. He knew<sup>e</sup> that contents determine style but the pervert taste could not leave him there. After admitting 'words' and 'meanings' as separate he ran into admitting the whole Rhetorical system and realized the existence of emotion in Mutarassilah in the form of Nathr-i-Khayālī a fact crystalized by

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Notes: (1) Ṣufī (Alminhaj) p.17. 1312 A.D.

(2) Waṣṣaf wrote his book in 712 A.H. Rashid-ud-Din Faḍl Ullah 1315 A.D. and Ḥamīd Ullah Mustawfī in 1330 A.D. 715 A.H.

730 A.H.  
(3) Khusraw (Ijāz) Vol. I. p.71,72.

Mahmud Gawan in a regular theory.

He fell into the marsh of logical interpretations of Mufrid-at and Murakabat (3). And while being modern in his knowledge of how a style could be achieved (1) he grappled vainly with the problem and accepted with all eagerness Faṣāḥat and Balaghat and the 'duality' that lies underneath these. He was bound to credit style for 'orientation' and ornamentation (2). No wonder that he devotes a separate chapter to Maṣnū'āt.

Could a man whose mind was so clear about the development of style as a process and had vaguely understood the emotive setting of Matarrassinah in the phrase Taṣawratī-Khayālī (8) have fallen in such a trap? The answer is quite simple. The people generally did not like maṭbū' (simple) style. Khusraw wanted to be popular. He was to side with the popular voice. His own personality demanded of him a new style. The dependence of maqamat on the mathematical attitude could suggest him the way out. 'Word play' was not only nearer his own nature, it could also over awe his audience. How could a Turk tolerate Baḥnamakī (4). He started appreciating works Ijadi and Ikhtirā' (5) but he was conscious of the fact that his predecessors had plunged themselves into 'artifices' which were directly connected with the outer aspect of a Kalimah (i.e. word) e.g. Taṣḥīf, Tajnīs, Tarsī, Tawshih etc.etc. But Rhetoric was to solve his difficulties. Rhetoricians had divided 'artifices' into two Lafẓī and Mānwī. Mānwī were near the meaning aspect of Kalimah. He selected the Mānwī for himself and announced his hatred for the second one (6). He has no objection to the conception of 'artifices' as a separate garb and decorative element only. This conception tells us.

از بر نوع تشبیهات و تزیینات و استعارات و مجازات و مقایسات و غیره که در این باب مذکور است و اینها را در این باب مذکور است و اینها را در این باب مذکور است (7)  
 Even similies and metaphors to him are a decoration

Notes: (1) Ibid. p.69-70. (2) Ibid. p. 58. (distinction between Sada and Rangin) and again for Faṣāḥat and Mufrid & Murakab. see. p. 62 of the same. (3) Ibid. p.62.

(4) Ibid. p.68. (5) Ibid. 71. (6) Ibid. p.78-79. (7) Ibid. p.79. (8) Ibid. Vol. IV. p.24.

and not the necessary part of a composition. Such an attitude necessarily leads to ruinous results and even Amir Khusraws prose does not let our expectations go in vain.

There are two parallel streaks of mental processes that run in Amir's mind. He uses such words which have got six or seven different meanings and when he uses them in a certain context, ordinarily two to three senses are retained. This Iham always gives way to interpretations at every step. Communication (strictly speaking emotional communication) suffers much and the composition becomes a crossward puzzle.

Khusraw is aware of these dangers, he compensates this by his mastery over the language and tries to save the meaning (sense) if not emotions (feeling). But every man could not have this. Khusraw is ready to leave out even Munasabats (associationism), his favourite artifice, for the sake of 'sense' (1). But here again he tries his best to arrive at a reconciliation between a word play and the sense (2). He is conscious of his short comings that is why he believes in a change in associationism when abandoned should be compensated in other ways (3). At places his inability compels him to leave his associationism (4). His vague idea of the defects of the theory of style were never fully brought into practice. The cause was his adherence to the perversions of his age. From the 8th c.A.H. we come down to the 9th c.A.H. when Mahmud of Gawan introduced a new interpretation to the existing conception of style. This has already been enumerated in previous pages. All that we are now going to mention about him is that he divided prose into three types, 'Aari, Murajjaz and Musajja' (5) (6)

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- Notes: (1) Ibid. 214-15. کس را در طبع این که حدت نباشد باید که...  
 and again....  
 (2) (3) Ibid. p. 212.  
 (4) Ibid. p. 96.  
 (5) Ibid. p. 210.  
 (6) Gawan (Manazir-ul-Insha. MS). p. 44.b.



The Maṣnū style was divided into two. He also stressed the importance of content in a piece of literature (1). And for Insha literature he considers similies and metaphors necessary (3). The age that followed was much more practical in its attempts at producing good literature rather than coming theories. ~~Even in books on criticism~~ it laid stress on the practical side and less on principles.

KHAN ARZU AND)  
THE THEORY OF)  
STYLE.

Under Aurangzeb the necessity of emphasizing the theoretic side became visible. We find three books worth mentioning by Khan Arzu. e.g. Dad-i-Sakhun, Muthmir and 'Atiyy-i-Kubra. The Khan was popular in the Northern part of India, while Bilgrami held his sway in the south. Sērāj-ud-Din 'Alī Khan Arzu, the prominent critic and leader of the linguistic movement in India, set the general trend of criticism to the side of grammatical perfection and Muḥawarat. Dad-i-Sakhun, and Muthmir, Muḥbat-i-Uḡma and 'Atiya-i-Kubra were the bibles of the age----the result of the Indo Iranian clash. (2) details will be given at its proper place (chapter. VII). During the reign of Akbar along with the Shia-Sunī clash, the Indo Iranian clash also started(3) which during the reign of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb entered the political field as well. After Aurangzeb this clash took a dangerous turn when Arzu and Sh. 'Alī Ḥazīn quarelled (5). This clash of Zaban-dan V. Ghair-Zabandan increased the hatred of Iranian writers against the Indian writers (6) who henceforth in their turn devoted the whole of their energies towards the Rekhta (Urdu poetry).

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- Notes: (1) Ibid. p.41.a. ....  
 (2) Ibid. p. 42. b. ....  
 (3) O.C.M. August, 1947 (S.M. 'Abdullah). p.17.  
 (4) Khan Arzu (Dad-i-Sakhun) 34 a (discussion on the word Tughra).  
 (5) Arzu was in favour of using Hindi words in Persian. see. Muḥbat-i-Uḡma. p. 10.  
 (6) Azad (Nigārīstā-i-Fārs) p. 201 sq & p.221 sq.

It seems that the original contribution of Arzu to Persian literature is very small. Arzu (d. 1169 A.H.) gave order to the disorganized and tangled ideas of his age. His originality lies where in he is most un-original and un-impressive.

(QATIL'S CONCEPTION OF STYLE) ) Warasta's maternal grand son Mirza Mohd.

Hasan Qatil (born in 1170 A.H.) combines in himself better elements. His arrangement of other peoples ideas along with his typical Indo-Aryan love of details and systematization makes of him a better critic. His books Chahar Sharbat, Shajrat-ul-Amami, Nahrul Fashahat and Mazharul 'Ajaib contain all that a good critic can afford to collect from the graves of his predecessors. There are the bones, the coffin, the shroud, every thing intact and well arranged. Discussions about Sharf-o-Nahw, Maani-o-Bayan, the technique of letter writing every thing is there. In addition to all this Qatil has got long lists of words Wajibuttark (1) and Mustasanttark (2) discussions on the difference of Irani (3), Turani (4) and Indian Persian(5) and their further classifications(6). He had all these. He had also discussion about style in general where-in he has stressed the linguistic aspect of style in the following words. "In discourse and letter writing the every day language of Iranis(7) should be followed, but in poetry and Insha (which can be مستحسن) any specified language is not to be followed, other-wise it will be against the method of the Savants". Both for prose and poetry he upholds the cause of Fashahat and Balaghat but his conception is different from other writers in the sense that he makes a clear

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Notes: (1) Nahrul Fashahat. p.3.

(2) Ibid. p.5.

(4) Qatil (Shajrat-ul-Amami) p.16.

(3) Ibid. p.15.

(5) Ibid. p.17.

(6) (Nahrul Fashahat) p.27.

(7) His liking of the Iranis was probably due to the fact that he had learnt persian language from them.

(از باقر مشبه اصحابی) در کتاب ... می گویند که از آنکه خط و درجه و اینها را از ایران آوردیم  
(در کتابش) از آنکه از ایران بهشتی را از مشاء الیه هم دیده و سپس در سبب (تشیع) اختیار کرده

distinction between poetry and the 'crossward puzzle' though he considers it necessary for Musajjā-i-Baligh (but Ghair Fasīh). Here again his own choice lies against 'word plays'---which are preferable in Arabic because in Persian to go to this extent is Ta'aqid-i-Mānawī (2). His classification of Musajjā into Faḍīlanāḥ (3) Sufīlanāḥ (4) and Munshīlanāḥ (5) and of 'Ari into Faḍīlanāḥ (6), Sufīlanāḥ (7) and Munshīlanāḥ (8) is interesting. This classification has been made according to vocabulary, structural peculiarities and subject matter which is but logical corollary to the schools of style theory. Murajjaz he has not discussed in detail because according to him it has not been in use,. He deemed it necessary to quote an example there (and has left it out of the discussions that follow). He further says that examples of 'Ari and Musajjā will be given at their proper place because his purpose was to instruct students in 'Ari and Murajjā (only) (9). Qatīl has also descended from the pinnacles of Olympian heights of traditional schools of prose and has devoted give pages, in his Charsharbat, to the peculiarities of style of different authors. This is the best available piece of criticism ever devoted by any classical writers to the anatomization of styles of particular authors. Like all critical sentences of late it suffers from precise but vague generalizations. The writer gives clear cut structural peculiarities of each of the authors under discussion but his remarks about the nature of their style falls short of clear thinking and accute vigilance. He is not to be blamed for that. It was the defect of critical judgement of the age. The judgement was primitive so were the technical terms. Matanat, Balaghat, Rangini, Gharabat are the only critical terms that could come to the rescue of critics.

Notes: (1) Qatil (قَاتِل) p.55.

(2) Ibid. p.56.

(3) (4), (5). p. 57.

(6) Ibid. p.59.

(7) Ibid. p. 11.

(8) Ibid. p. 11.

(9) Ibid. p.48.

چون مرز مرده و متحمل در غریب نیست قیاسی آن را در آن مرز در بود و باشد  
ماری و صبح بجای خود آرد استود زبیر آله افادک طایمانی مازنظر رمان است



All these so called terms, are mere units of a certain emotional attitude of a critic towards certain writers. These are accumulative and emotional but not scientific and analytical. We do not find where in the *Mutanat* of Waṣṣaf (1) differs from that of Yazdi (2) or Abul Fadl (3). All that these points to are the places where the authors resembled each other and not where they mostly differed. The necessity of adherence to tradition was stressed and the necessity of the occasion neglected. "The test of a true individuality of style is that we should feel it to be inevitable; in it we should be able to catch the reference back to a whole mode of experience that is consistent with itself(4)". The necessity of the occasion has got two points to converge at, adherence to tradition and aloofness from it and the controlling factor always being the mode of experience of the writer. The old theory neglected this aloofness, and it also neglected the importance of a writer's experience. This did not make the writers conscious of what was going on in their own minds, it rather made them over-conscious of what would happen outside if they did not show respect for the traditional game. To them style was not a personal affair of the artist and influenced by the taste of the age, it was an affair of the whole class of writers and was controlled by schools of styles with clear conceptions of linguistic traps. This was helpful in the determination of "barren" traditional "idiosyncrasy of style", by which only "a habit of language or expression"(5) is preserved. The Art of Insha (theory of style), the terms of literary criticism and their application lacked clauses for the preservation of content. All these claimed perfection of language to be the only criterion of good in literature. Summing up we can say that the theory is a child in the go cart, give it time to learn its limbs.

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Notes: (1), (2), & (3), Ibid. p.65-66.  
 (4) Murry. p.47.  
 (5) Murry. p.21.

INSHA LITERATURE.

Chapter III

LITERATURE IN THE MAKING.

(\_\_\_\_\_ to 421 A.H.)



### CHAPTER. III. Literature in the Making.

In the previous chapter we discussed the Art of Insha and reached the conclusion that at its final stage this art was synonymous with the science of Rhetoric. Rhetoric, as we have already pointed out, had its defects, which if removed, could be helpful to the general out-put of literature. In the light of remedies suggested in chapter II, we shall now try to reevaluate emotive literature produced during the period under review.

THE HISTORY OF ) The history of Insha-literature is more  
INSHA LITERATURE )  
IS THE HISTORY OF ) or less the history of Persian prose-because  
PERSIAN PROSE. ) while discussing the characteristics of Insha

literature, especially its linguistic aspect, we can not avoid mentioning , those works of history and books of tales and Romances which have directly or indirectly affected persian prose style is general and Insha literature in particular. None of the branches of literature is ever self sufficient enough to relieve one of the labour of references and cross-references. One is compelled to take literature as one whole and refer forward or backward according to the situation. It is very difficult to divide literature into parts and keep each part into a watertight compartment. The position becomes extremely difficult when we notice that in all branches of literature the theory of style working behind is almost always the same. As a result of the old theory about style, even in works of science the artistic aspect (or to be more accurate the galvanizing aspect) was never fully ignored. It was important in scientific works to the same degree as it was in Insha Literature. In most of the cases the Munshis were court historians as well. Their personal influence and their peculiarities of style are note worthy in so far as these influence the general trend of Persian prose literature. That is why the author of Manazirul Insha, after deciding upon Insha Literature as emotive prose literature, has included in the list of his best specimens of prose style Wassaf's history and the Kalila Dimna (1).

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Notes. (1) Mahmud Gawan (M) 3 a. (MS).

Therefore we shall have to make passing references to historical works as well. But at such occasions only brief references would be considered sufficient. Along-with this we shall have to mention (at a comparatively greater length) those pieces of Arabic literature which had a direct bearing on the tone of Persian prose literature. The problem of style, in its turn, is *inextricably* connected with the problem of language and its structural peculiarities so it won't be out of place to discuss the nature of Persian language, arabic influences on Persian and the political and social factors culminating to the same. But Arabic language exerted its influence upon Persian language long before the compilation of the oldest extant pieces of Insha Literature. Hence the need of this chapter as a necessary prolegomenon.

PERSIAN LANGUAGE)  
BEFORE ISLAM. )

Very few specimens of Persian prose before the advent of Islam have come down to us. It is probably due to the fact that during the Sasanian period Pahlawi was conjoined to a small number of families; that is why there is a paucity of Pahlawi writings. After the establishment of Pahlawi language, which, despite its complications (1) was prevalent during the Sasanians lost its Royal patronage; still it survived in Post Islamic Iran due to a strong feeling of nationalism among Persians. Islamic culture demanded a martial spirit which, if at all required basic education, was a meagre knowledge of Arabic. The battle of Qadisiyya, therefore, not only struck at the nationalistic character of Persians, but also damaged their language. Noldeke's statement that Arabic civilization and religion grēately influenced Iran (2) is only partially correct during the first two centuries of Arab regime. Iranian Nationalism was

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Notes: (1) These complications meant firstly the Huzwarish element which crept into it at the hands of Aramaic scribes and secondly the polyphonic characteristic caused by the passage of time.

(2) Browne (Literary Hist. ) Vol. II. p.4.

for a long period rebelling in the distant provinces of the Abbasid capital. Due to quarrels for the caliphate and anti-Iranian attitude which affected Arabs in their early years of rule, the sympathies of Persians for Islam and the Muslims (during the caliphate of the Orthodox caliphs and later on under the Umayyids) were on the wane. This state of affairs helped towards the production of a mass of Pahlawi literature in Iran during the early Islamic period (1).

THE PAHLAWI PROSE OF)  
ISLAMIC PERIOD. )

The powerful wave of hatred which takes its birth from the sense of being ruled over by foreigners was in action in the Eastern part of Iran and "Persians were loth to introduce Arabic words into their language and--they found fault with such of their poets as made use of Arabic words in their compositions. In fact, Arabic spread very slowly in Persian and still more slowly in the districts of Bukhara and Samarkand where the new faith of Islam met with great resistance(2)". These specimens of Pahlawi literature, of which a major portion belongs to later years of the advent of Islam mainly consist of moral fiction and religious works---such writings according to Western writers represent what is generally called "Christian morality" (3). These moral works are usually marked with a directness, and have got a very limited scope for rhetorical embellishments. Besides, in the literature of this period the Arabic influence on vocabulary, thought and form is very meagre.

OFFICIAL LANGUAGE)  
OF THE SASANIANS.)

Pahlawi was the official language of the Sassanians. As for the officers the influence that the Dabirs of the state wielded<sup>ed</sup> in Iran was of a distinguished nature (4).

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Notes: (1) Din Mohammad. Preface p.. *S.P.*

(2) Daudpota Chap. II. p.14.

(3) I am referring here to those elements which have a direct bearing on the tone of prose style.

(4) Christisen (Urdu Tr.) p.173.



The Dabir Budh was the drafter of firmans which were written in the Pahlawi language. While commenting on the linguistic peculiarities of mandates and letters Christensen says "It was considered necessary to draft Royal correspondence and private letters in a specific way. In every writing, were interspersed aphorisms, parables, religious teachings, verses and Mu'ammahs in such a way that the total result was very pleasant--- --

A tendency towards decoration and ornamentation was a part of Pahlawi books and coronation addresses" (1). It is difficult to agree with Christensen on the authority of later writers like Tabari, Tha'albi and Firdawsi. No contemporary pahlawi coronation adress has come down to us.

This point should not detain us long because post-Islamic Persian language is not a continuation, much less a mere change of script, of Pre-Islamic Pahlawi. Post Islamic Persian has, I think born out of the provincial dialect of the upper regions of Iran (i.e. it is Dari) and there seems to be no direct relation between the Pahlawi literature produced in Fire temples at Fars ( the lower part of Iran) and the literary activities manifesting themselves in Khurasan and Transoxiana during the first two centuries preceeding the Seljuqs.

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(1) Ibid.

POST ISLAMIC ) The battle of Qadisiyya (II A.H.) decided  
 ARABIC & PERSIAN )  
 LITERATURES. ) the day. During first few years of Arab  
 domination the Islamic idea of brotherhood, dearth of Arab  
 nationalism and the continuation of Pahlawi language in the  
 finance department helped in subsiding the hatred of the Iranis  
 for their overlords. Many inhabitants of Iran changed their  
 religion but these conversions over to Islam, took place at first  
 only in Iranian provinces adjoining Arabia. In eastern provinces  
 of Iran Arabs did not have an easy success: the main source of  
 trouble being the old Iranian nobility whom they had left un-  
 hampered (1). The liking for Arabic language and literature and  
 a feeling of amity and good will among Iranis and Arabs in Eastern  
 provinces dates from the rise of Turks. It was during the Turkish  
 regime (especially that of Ghazna-wids) that Arabic started  
 influencing Persian. The Turks were the true upholders of ortho-  
 dox Islam in the sense that they mitigated feelings of patriotism  
 and the first to benefit themselves of this atmosphere of tolera-  
 tion were Persians themselves. The whole responsibility of Arabic  
 influences on Persian language, whether good or bad, falls on  
 the shoulders of Persians writers. (The details follow ahead).

ORTHODOX CALIPHS ) During the reign of Caliph Umar  
 9-40. A.H. )  
 & ) the Military Accounts Department was  
 Umayyids 41. A.H.-132 A.H.) kept in Pahlawi script. The medium

of correspondence even at such an early stage was Arabic. The  
 official correspondence after the advent of Islam seems to be  
 simple and "so brief and to the point that we hardly have an  
 official note more than a few lines in length"(2).

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Notes: (1) Yaqubi. vide ref. Nariman. pp. 10, 11.  
 (2) Hitti. p. 250.

This directness remained its chief distinguishing character 'till the fall of Umayyids; but we should not lose sight of the fact that even at such an early stage a tendency towards perfection of language manifests itself. This element crystalized during Umayyid rule when non-arab savants took the field in Arabic letters. The tragedy of Karbla is a suitable incident of Muslim history that can best illustrate this point. The original conception of Caliphate withered away by the end of the orthodox regime (first four caliphs). We should take the reign of Muawiyah and the Tragedy of Karbala not as events but as direct results of those political movements which had taken root among Arabs due to their tribal jealousies. This strife sounded the death knell of Islamic conception of politics and henceforth Islam survived only due to social factors that started operating immediately after the extinction of political aspect of muslim culture. In political field Iranian conception of monarchy won the game. This kingship was the result and in its turn also the cause of the rebirth of Iranian feeling of nationality. There were the Zuhhad, the Shias, the Kharajites and the Mawali each relying for its power either on pre-Islamic Iranian patriotism or pre-Islamic tribal rivalry. As time rolled on, Iranian patriotism and Arab hatred for non-Arabs became intense. Umayyids fell, but the strife continued under the 'Abbasids. Umayyids had acquired Iranian conception of kingship (1) but they were Arabs after all and believed in the superiority of their countrymen. Arab dominance lingered on. Arabic was popular in and around Damascus. It was the language of religion, it was the language of conquerors and to crown all it was the language of correspondence. Pahlawi language was only confined to 'finance' department, where the Iranis were in majority. In other state departments key posts were considered to be the monopoly of Arabs.

Notes: (1) During pre-Islamic Arabia the condition for the eligibility of tribal leadership was seniority in age but Umayyids never cared for it. If we think their conception of monarchy to be of Iranian origin we are not far from truth.

\* Up to the reign of Abdul Malik b. Marwan



During the year 81 A.H. Caliph Abdul Malik and his governor Hajjaj introduced Arabic language in the finance department as well. Thus Arabic was declared to be the linguafranca of Muslim countries. Even after the advent of Islam Arabic literature had not been very popular with Arabs most <sup>whom</sup> of relied for their literary equipments on their memory rather than the script (1). Most of the Qura (the reciters of Quran) too were not able to read any thing but the Quran and the Hadith (2). Taking advantage of the inability of Arabs to read or write, Iranians started learning Arabic. "Persians became more and more interested in the study of Arabic... Gradually (they) acquired such proficiency in Arabic that they even excelled their teachers and began to crowd them out in every literary activity...(3)". It is from that time onwards that those elements came to the fore front which Von Kremer considers the national and quite original stamp of Arabs (4)---a factor that introduced Arabic vocabulary in Persian language and also changed Sasanian nationalism into Shiaism. A great part of Umayyid prose has perished. The two well known writers of this period were 'Abid b. Sharya and Wahab. b. Munabbih belonging to Yaman---a territory falling outside the sphere of standard Arabic. Yaman has been under Persian rule till the first few years of the advent of Islam, therefore we should consider it culturally a part of Persia. 'Abid was a Yamanite Arab but Wahab was a Persian. Arab settlers of Iran should be considered (in comparison to the inhabitants of Mecca and Medina) as non-Arabs because they had to make conscious efforts towards learning the language and committing to memory its idioms and phrases. But Arabic prose at this time was simple and we do not find that insipid and intricate language which we usually come across in the writers of Maqamat.

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- Notes: (1) a. Aslam Jairajpuri V. I. p. 38.  
       b. Ibn-i-Khaldun V. III. p. 210 (Urdu Tr.)  
 (2) Ibn-i-Khaldun Vol. III. p.210-11 (Urdu Tr.)  
 (3) Daud Pota Chsp. II. p.13.  
 (4) Von Kremer. p. 147.

Therefore the following quotation from De Slane does not represent the Arabic literature of the first two centuries after Islam. He says, "The Epistolary style of the Arabs during the first two centuries after Muhammad, was highly admired by philologists for the subtlty of the thoughts and the elegant concision of the style. To Europeans the elliptical style appears obscure and affected(1)". It is well applicable to Arabic literature of 4th and 5th centuries but to find out elliptical style in the lexicographers of first two centuries is a pious wish only. We come across such a style in Ibnul Hamid no doubt but it is a solitary instance having no link with the general trend. Even Faramin and letters in Arabic (prior to Abdul Hamid) were always sketchy and precise. Abdul Hamid of Syria ( a non Arab) was the first who introduced Tawalt in letters (2) and allowed formalities to exert influence (3). So in a way Abdul Hamid was responsible for ornate prose which we come across in Ibn-i-Duraid and others. But none of Abdul Hamid's contemporaries seems to have followed him at a flowery style.

ABBASIDS I 132. A.H.) During this period Abbasid rule (the  
TO 233 A.H.) golden age of Islam) was at its zenith and it is for the first time in 232 A.H. that we see signs of decay. The vast empire of glorious Arachid split in to small in dependent states which paid only a nominal allegiance to the caliphate at Bagdad. In Khurasan Arabs were required to face Turks and Iranis but their attention was mainly diverted to tribal feuds. Their condition at Basrah was much more precarious where they were divided into two seperate parties of 'Add and Tamim. This gave way to the spread of Iranian feeling of nationality in its pure Islamicized form (i.e. as Shias).

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Notes: (1) De Slane (Ibn-i-Khallikan's Biographical. Dic. Eng Tr.) Vol. 4. p. 300 footnote (8).  
(2) Zubaid Ahmed (Adab) p.193.  
(3) Ibid. p.195.

In a way the fall of Qutaibah, at the close of Umayyid period, "meant the fall of the Arab dominion in the lands which he had won for them"(1). And again the assassination of Al Harith is also important because <sup>a</sup>he was fore runner of Abu Muslim (Khurasani) and did more than anyone else to overthrow the sway of the Umayyads (Umayyids) and the Arabs"(2). Abbasid period is important for yet another factor. There took place a great change in the machinery of government. Arab nobility faded out of the scene and in its place Irani officials came to the fore-front. Persians conquered <sup>Iran who conquered</sup> Persia. Thus the social factors started operating in Islamic 'super organic'. Hadi Hasan while commenting upon the Persian patronage of the Abbasids says, "Al Mamun's dying advice to his son---"Make much of the people of Khurasan for verily they have expended their lives and means on our behalf"---is not less significant of the Persianising of the Caliphate than the victory of al Mamun over his brother Al Amin"(3). As a result of this, Persians got their hold on both the government and Arabic literature.

The population of Arabia was more or less rural, though we cannot deny Levy's statement that during the second century after Hijra Arab citizenship was emerging out and Ashraf (nobles) had come to light (4). But education was never popular among these Ashraf. Education and schooling was mainly confined to cities.

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Notes: (1) Muir (The Caliphate) Chapter. LVIII. p.419.

(2) Ibid. p. 421

(3) Hadi Hasan (Studies) p.22.

(4) Levy. Vol. I. (An Int. to the Sociology of Islam) p.93, It has further been supported by Jurji Zaidan (Umayyads and Abbasids. Eng. Tr. by Margoliouth) chap. II. p.77. 4th volume of Tamadun-i-Islami.



Uptil now 'Ulum-i-Sharīah had risen to the position of 'crafts' therefore the first to benefit out of it were the citizens, the Iranians. "Islam had", so says Ibn-i-Khaldun "not changed the Iranian civilization that is why they were the first to study the 'Ulum (Literature and science)"(1). It was now that due to their status at the court, the Iranis could get more chances for literary pursuits. Due to the sacred relation of arabic language with religion, the group of Savants (majority of whom were Persians) as a group had an honoured place at the court. Iranian scholars had been the ruling class during the Sasanian period and it was again during the Abbasids that they got the administrative machinery in their own hands. Old Arab nobles had no liking for literary pursuits, which had become 'craft', therefore they left the field for Iranians.

Arab dominance decayed at the court, and though now and again Arab nobility tried to get back its old position, but in vain. "Henceforth Arabs stopped taking the chief role in history" Arab hatred for the Persian, and Persian hatred for the Arab had become feeble. In Nahw, jurisprudence, Ḥadīth and other 'Ulum-i-Sharīah the Ajamis were easily taken to be the teachers of Arabs.

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Notes: (1) Ibn-i-Khaldun (Muqadamah) Urdu. Tr. Vol. III. chapter. 36. p.210.

In the districts lying around Bagdad cordial relations among Arabs and non-Arabs can easily be judged from the fact (1) that not only the Iranians adapted Arabic language for literary and religious purposes but kept alive in Arabic poetry its pagan traditions. Nicholson in his "Aliterary History of Arabs", not fully realizing the importance of social aspect of Islam, has showed his surprise at the relations of friendship among Arabs and non-Arabs in the following words: "So acute and irreconcilable were the racial differences between Arabs and Persians that one is astonished to see how thoroughly the latter became Arabicised in the course of a few generations. As clients affiliated to an Arab tribes they assumed Arabic names and sought to disguise their foreign pedigrees, on the strength of which they passed for Arabs" (2). Levy while commenting upon this tendency considers it to be a subtler fuge to improve their lot. He says "It may be added that even comparatively late in the history of Islam, entire people sought to enhance their status in the eyes of the Muslim world by claiming kingship with Arabs of Arabia and providing themselves with Arab ancestry". (3) Persians had found an other way out. They had a popular tradition that Imam Husain was husband to Shahr Banu--the daughter of the last Sasanian monarch. This tendency of the conquered to affiliate themselves with the conquerors throws enough light on the powerful influence of Islam as a magnetic force; the conception of equality being the basic element. At this time when a great number of Persian Savants were guiding Arabs in their language and literature a new literary movement was emerging fast--the Sha'ubya movement. Khurasan, which had given rise to Al Harith and Abu Muslim, was ready to bring in the field certain other men.

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Notes: (1) It should be remembered that even at this time Iranian hatred for Arabs in Khurasan had not subsided.  
 nsee. Abu Muslims letter. Muir. p.433.

(2) Nicholson. p.280-281.

(3) Levy. Vol. I. Chapter I. p. 85,86.

It manifested itself among the 'Arabic knowing people' as well. We are astonished to find writers like Abu 'Ubaida, Biruni and Hamzah Isfahani as supporters of Sha'bi movement and Jahiz and Qutaibah as the up-holders of the cause of Arabs. In fact this movement was the result of the feeling of equality. The non-Arabs had their hold on governmental departments and in order to keep their position secure they had relied upon 'equality' (Arabs and non Arabs are of equal status) by admitting this, the Persians in a way refuted the idea of a 'seperate Iranian Nationality'. There were extremists too but they nowhere seem to be powerful. Till the advent of Ghaznawids the nature of the movement was literary and perhaps never political. Persian writers of Arabic usually boasted of their literary achievements. This feeling of superiority over Arabs gave Persians that feeling of genuine self-reliance and self-confidence which enriched Arabic literature in all its branches. Confidence, peace of mind and "secure position of the Artist" are necessary conditions for the production of first rate literature. We should remember here yet another thing: the literature of a period is bound to have that peculiar stamp of the ruling class which affects both the content and the language of pieces of literature. Especially when a scholar is working at a foreign language he is bound to be over-conscious of his undertaking. This consciousness acted in three channels; the liking for an elliptic style, the love and adherence to Rhetoric as an end in itself and a certain regard for the new faith (Islam) (1). These three aspects not only progressed separately but interacted and took the form of a few specific types e.g. Nahw, Humanism of rare words and expressions, Jurisprudence, Khutabat, Manamat etc.etc.

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Notes: (1) The details given above about Arabic literature would seem at the first sight unnecessary, but these are necessary because they make us understand the situation clearly. The influence of Arabic literature on Persian literature was in two directions, subject matter and linguistic attainments. The first cannot possibly be described without going into the details of Arabic literature.



Along with these types, intricacy in diction, use of far fetched similes and expressions, too much reliance on technical terms and the popularity of rhetorical embellishments, all these were in most of the cases the results of the action and interaction of the above mentioned Types and in some cases the direct result of the three Channels described above.

The distinguished role of Iranis in intellectual field made the genius of Arabic language two fold. Both Iranian tradition and Arabic tradition started running in parallel channels. King-worship created a separate language for Qasidas and in prose, especially in Khutabat, Magamat and Dibachas, it introduced the cadence that over-awes an audience. These elements are not so prominent at this period as in the 3rd and 4th centuries. But Iranian influence was stepping ahead. Among the prominent poets of this period Abu Nawas, Bashshar, Abu Tamam and Abbas al Ahnaf's influence on Persian poetry of Seljuc period and after, has been enormous. Of these Abu Nawas was a non-Arab (he belonged to Ahwaz, his father was a native of Damascus and his mother a persian lady (1).) The prose writers of established reputation, Ibn-ul-Mucafa, Ibn-i-Duraïd, Jahiz and Tabari were non-Arabs. Ibn-ul-Mucafa was a persian (2), Tabari belonged to Amul and Ibn-i-Duraïd (b. 223 A.H.) was a native of Ummân and belonged to Add clan, whom the Quraish have never recognised as Arabs (3).

Among these prose writers only one i.e. Ibn-i-Duraïd seems to be the follower of flowery style. His Persian mentality made of him an appreciator of ornate language. He had for his models the semi religious outbursts of Kahins, certain advanced portions of the Quran and sermons of Ali.

The study of the Quran made these writers of persian birth interested in the subtle problems of Nahw and it also made Arabic language a language with "involved methods of grammatical construction, so as to make it necessary, even for their own coling-uists to use some research before they could ascertain the due meaning

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Notes: (1) Enc. of Islam.

(2) Iqbal Ashtyani (Ibnul Mucafa) p.10.

(3) Enc. of Islam (under Add)-

of the composition" (1).

The liking of writers for rhyme and cadence (under the influence of Khutabat) set up a separate school of prose which soon became popular among provincial governors in their public orations.

The intricacies of Arabic grammar (hinted above) have played a definite role in setting a tone of Arabic literature. Chenery says, "Lexicography was studied with intentness which probably no other people had devoted to its own language and the consequence was a sort of literary consciousness in every thing that was written, a looking to the form, rather than the substance, and gave a pedantic character to the productions of the time"(2). This tradition at a later stage passed over to Persian literature as well.

The activities at the court of Harun-ul-Rashid (786-809 A.D) though resulted in the fall of the Persian Barmacides but the success of Manun at a later stage helped in the perpetuation of Persian influences. Abbasid power was fast declining but its literary legacy, especially in the direction of getting translated Persian Andarz-namahs, introduced that peculiar ethical element in Arabic literature which in its turn influenced Persian prose pieces of post-Islamic period.

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Notes: (2) Chenery (Maqamat-i-Hariri. Eng Tr.) p.15.

(1) Reynolds (Kitabi Yamini. Eng. Tr.) Introduction p.XVIII

ABBASID: ) This period of Abbasid rule that ushers in with Al-Muta  
 II. 231 A.H.)  
 TO 441 A.H.) wakil is a panorama of rival dynasties, rebellions and upheavals. The hour of Abbasid glory had gone. Powerless rules at the centre allowed independent rule in far off districts on the <sup>promise</sup> ~~province~~ of a nominal homage. But this did not affect the spread of Arabic language and literature throughout the so called dominion of the Caliphate. Persian language emerged out of oblivion at the hands of independent provincial dynasties and started getting life from the same social forces which had led to the outflow of Arabic language even after the decline of the Caliphate. Provincial dynasties were alterego of the caliphate they were ready to accept all that Caliphate at Bagdad had allowed so far. As a result of liberal movements at Bagdad during the reign of Harun-ur-Rashid and due to the attitude of tolerance of the muslims towards their non-muslim subjects, Zoroastrianism had been saved in Tabaristan, Khurasan and Fars. After sudden signs of decay and decentralization of Abbasid empire, these non muslim subjects (mostly Zoroastrians and Mazdakites) tried to regain their lost prestige through Sindbad (753-756 A.D.) Ustad is (765-68 A.D.) Muqan (780-86 A.D.) and Babak (816-838 A.D.). But Islamic culture was too powerful to be subdued by such upheavals. Islam had changed the out look of majority of its adherents. It was ready to allow every progressive element but was not going to accept revivalism as a creed. The self regulating powers of Islamic culture could allow Iranian National feeling only in their Islamicised form, the Tahrids could succeed but not Ustad Is, Mysticism (Persianized mysticism) could succeed but not Zoroastrism and Mazdaism. Thus the synthetic spirit of Islam (as Iqbal would like to call

it) worked its way and did not allow disruptive elements (1)

Notes: (1) The student of Muslim theology knows that among Muslim legists the kind of heresy (i.e. the kind of heresy which does not involve the ex-communication of the culprit) is technically known as "heresy below heresy". It may be admitted how ever that in the hands of Mullahs whose intellectual laziness takes all opportunities of theological thoughts as absolute and is consequently blind to the unity in difference, this minor heresy may become a source of great mischief. This mischief can be remedied only by giving to the student of our theological schools a clearer vision of the synthetic spirit of Islam, and by reinitiating them into the function of logical contradiction as a principle of movement in theological dialectic. The question of what may be called major heresy arises only when the teaching of a thinker or a reformer affects the frontiers of the faith of Islam.  
 Iqbal (Islam and Ahmedism) pp. 12,13.



From (832 A.D.) 217 A.H. to 227, 228 A.H (A.D. 842) the Turks of Transoxiana directed and controlled the administrative machinery at Bagdad. With passage of time their influence increased at the centre; there were Turks in the army, they were on other administrative jobs as well. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Caliphs, Tahir the Governor of Khurasan carved a new empire for himself in 832 A.D. = 217 A.H. From <sup>822 A.D.</sup> 207 A.H. to <sup>872 A.D.</sup> 259 A.H. Tahrids held their way in Khurasan, Saffarids ruled from the year (872 A.D.) 259 A.H. onwards. After two years Samanids came to power and till the year 999 A.D. = 390 A.H. these settlers of Transoxiana brought under their control early the whole of Iran.

The most important point about this period is that where as in the beginning Persians hated Arabic language, now it had subsided due to the interest of Persians for Arabic language and literature. Prejudice of Arabs against Iranians was declining towards a close and Islamic conception of brotherhood had cleared the way for the progress of Iran. Due to a rational out-look different intellectual movements were going on in the field of religion. Any group could take advantage of such a situation. Under the flickering candle of Caliphate small independent dynasties rose and fell with the ebb and flow of events. Arabic language, the language of polite society continued to exert its influence along with the revival of Persian literature. But this revival was not the revival of Pahlawi language or Literature. It would be wrong to assert that post Islamic Persian is Pahlawi with a change in script (1).

PAHLAWI AND ) Pahlawi was the language of the selected few. The  
POST ISLAMIC)  
PERSIAN. ) Zoroastrian priests were its sole monopolizers. Against  
this the language of every day conversation in Khurasan (the home of  
post Islamic Persian) was Dari Dialect which rose to the level of a  
language with Arabic script. There is a great difference in grammar  
of Pahlawi and post Islamic Persian languages.

Notes:- (1) Browne. Vol. I. (p.8) chapter. I. says the difference between the Pahlawi and the earliest form of Modern Persian was, save for the Arabic element generally contained in the latter, merely a difference of script.

Aramaic verbs were used and the change was to occur is gender it always occurred in the verb itself, but in post-Islamic Persian when ever a change of gender was to take place on auxiliary verb was added to it (1). In Pahlawi, Aramaic pronouns were being used but in Persian the pronouns were Persian (2). Similarly in Pahlawi, Aramaic preposition were prevalent but in Persian these were Persian (3). The last two grammatical peculiarities can be attributed to the abolition of Huzwarish element but the first (gender problem) can not be attributed to change of script. Ibn-i-Hawqal is reported to have written: There are three languages prevalent in Fars (i) the language of every day conversation (ii) Pahlawi which is not generally understood by the people of Fars and (iii) Arabic language--the language of state offices and correspondence (iv) Pahlawi was a language not understood even by the people of Fars--a land where most of the extant literature of Pahlawi was produced--as early as the time of Ibn-i-Dari, <sup>Hawqal (2nd half of 10th c. A.D.). Farsi--i-</sup> ~~also~~ Amir Khusraw would like to tell us (v) <sup>was</sup> was the language of upper regions of Iran (Khurasan and Transoxiana). The difference between Pahlawi and Dari is more striking than the difference between Sanskrit and Prakrits.

Dari dialect rose to the position of a language and both Arabic literature and Persian literature started developing side by side. There were two languages flourishing in one and the same literary atmosphere. BILINGUAL POETS) Persian poetry was the first (as compared to Persian prose) to absorb Arabic vocabulary in it. In early Qasida writers of Persian, Arabic words and phrases abound. The reason for Arabic influence at such an early stage in the development of Persian language is that Arabic the sacred language of religion had an important place in the curriculum. That is why we come across bilingual poets in plenty. <sup>U.</sup> Sadid-ud-Din Mohammad

Awfi (in his Lubabul-albab) mentions Hanzala of Badghis, Sahid of Balkh.

Notes. (1) In Pahlawi Qabala( ) in first Person singular was to become Maqbulunam, for second singular Maqbuluni for Third singular Maqbulunat. In Persian it was in first Person singular Qabul Mi Kuni, for third singular Qabul Mi-Kundad.

(2) Pahlawi	Persian
Li	Man
Lak	Tu
Lakum	Shuma

(3) Min..Az.

(4) Din Muhammad. Introduction.

(5) Khusraw (Ghurah) Introduction.



Mansur 'ali almentiqi ar Razi, Abu Bakr Muhammad bin 'Ali al Khawnsari as Sarkhasi and Abu 'Abdullah Muhammad bin 'Abdullah al Junaidi poets of both Persian and Arabic languages (1). The author of Tarikh-i-Baihaq gives a long list of bilingual writers (2), prominent among whom are Syed Jalal-ud-Din, 'Imad-ud-Din Yahya, Abu 'Ali al Jafari, Ja'far al Hakim al Zyadi (2) Khawjah Ahmed, Kamal-ud-Din Muhammad bin 'ali (?) al Qasim and Ali al Zabarah. When any one knows two languages, each language is bound to influence the other. In certain books most of the sentences are verbal translations from Arabic. Babram Kirmani says (4).

Arabic. Babram Kirmani says (4).  
«امضی کتب مثل تفسیر طبرسی (العلوی) و نایب طبرسی (علی) و حتی تاریخ بیهقی جن مارسی سنیا» و «فکرم مرچیه که گفتا الفطری اعتبارا شریانی امست»

THE INFLUENCE OF ) Arabic influence was mostly in the direction  
ARABIC LANGUAGE ON)  
PERSIAN LANGUAGE. ) of writing simple prose (Matbu). It was also in  
the direction of the use of Arabic phrases and sentences. Writers,  
from the very beginning, started interspersing their Persian writin-  
gs with Ayat and Arabic verses. The use of Arabic words also abounded.  
This particular influence was the result of certain social and relig-  
ious needs. The technical terms of religion, scientific and literary  
terms, the names of things and objects, the need for verbosity in  
Qasa'id, and a pressing need for a rich store of Qawafi in Persian  
were incentives for the use of Arabic words in Persian (5). More over  
Arabic Vocabulary in Persian was due to the fact that it was a sign  
of scholarship to use Arabic words (6).

THE INFLUENCE OF ) Persian literature was influenced, in the  
ARABIC LITERATURE ON)  
PERSIAN LITERATURE. )beginning, by Arabic literature in its use of

Arabic vocabulary, interspersing Ayat from the

Notes: (1) Awfi pp. 2, 4, 17, 18, 23 (Daud-pota mentions only three names)

(2) Baihaqi. pp. 262, 263.

(3) Ibid. p. 263-----

(4) a. Bahram Kirmani (Intr. to Miraj Namah. p. ~~34~~ <sup>35</sup>)

b. Sheirani in his *Tanqid-i-Shirul Ajam* says (p. 140).

but his statement is not correct, that is why he has modified it in his Firdausi per char maqaley p.235. c. We can support Bahrams cause by the following examples from Belamis translation of Tarikh-i-Tabari pp. 7,8,12,442 & 521).

at times arabic phrases have been mixed up

(5) For a detailed list see Shairani (Fardawsi) pp. 234-237.

(6) Rada Zadah Shafac (Tarikh-i-Adabyat) p.16.



Quran and verses from Arabic authors, imitating Arabic construction of sentences and copying the simple style (Matbu). In Arabic at this stage, two separate schools of prose had come into vogue, Matbu and Masnu. The writers of Masnu prose living in this age were taken as models by the Persian prose writers of later Ghaznawi and Seljuq periods. Their influence on contemporary Persian writers in almost negligible. They were copied and imitated at a later stage. Among such fortunate writers of Arabic were "Hamadani, 'Utbi"(1) and Abul Hasan Ahwazi (2).

IRANIAN ) Major part of Arabic literature consists of  
CONTRIBUTION TO )  
ARABIC LITERATURE.) the writings of non-Arab peoples, especially the Persians. "Take from what is called Arabian sciences, exegesis, tradition, theology, philosophy, medicine, history, biography and even Arabic grammar, the work contributed by Persians and the best part is gone". "What we call Arabic literature was no more Arabian than the Latin literature of the Middle Ages was Italian"(4). But a logical corollary of this statement has always been left unnoticed. The Arabic influences on persian prose and poetry resulting in the imitation of Arabic models of Masnu are almost all, without exception the copies of those Arabic originals which were the contributions of Persians themselves. The whole responsibility for the elliptic and the ornate falls, not only in Arabic literature but also in Persian literature of 6th century A.H., on the shoulders of Persians themselves. The Qasid writers of early Abbasid period were copied by Persian poets (i.e. Abu Nawas, Bashshar, Abu Tammam and Abbas) were non-Arabs, mostly persians. Among the prose writers Ibn-ul-Muqafa, Ibn-i-Duraid and Tabari were Persians. During the period now under survey Badi-uz-Zaman Hamadani, 'Utbi, Abu Faras, Abul Faraj Is-fahani, Balami (Tawqiat = Persian?) were Persians.

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Notes: (1) Shairani (Tanqid) p.339.  
(2) Bahai' Bagdadi (At Tawasul) p.9  
(4) Hitti. p. 401.

Their influence on later Persian prose writers was over-whelming. Among other prose writers of note, recommended for study by Nizami Arudi, Abdul Hamid (132 A.H.), Sahib (d. 385 A.H.) Sabi (d. 384); Qudamah-bin-Jafar (alive in 295 A.H.), Hariri and Iskafi should be mentioned (1).

SCHOOLS OF PROSE. ) In Arabic literature upto now two separate groups of vocabulary for prose and poetry had ceased to exist. "Both prose and poetry have got two separate modes of expression" says Ibn-i-Khaldun, and "one can not be used for the other e.g. nasib is a part of Ghazal (and we can not employ it anywhere except the Ghazal). But Mutakhirin have used poetic modes of suppression in prose thus they have made a free use of Sajja and Qawafi in Royal orders and mandates"(2). This sort of prose that converts prose into poetry is not to be found even in Persian prose of Ghaznawi period. Matbu was popular in Persian prose.

It is strange that 'two schools of prose' theory has been a phenomenon of great importance, affecting Arabic Persian and Urdu Literatures in all their aspects. Both in Persian and Arabic the two schools of prose (Matbu and Masnu) remained operative side by side. World history has not recorded so far, the existence of such parallel schools of prose in any other country. Such an attitude towards language could not exist in any other language because in all the other languages of the world variety of style (mode of expression) depended mostly on individuality rather than 'collective enterprise'. In Iran and Arabia it was necessary that individual efforts should be subordinated to the traditional. Every prose writer was to prove himself faithful to either of the two schools, and in poetry (at a later stage) he was expected to follow any one school out of the Khurasani, Shirazi and Iraqi.

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Notes: (1) Nizami Arudi. p. 95 sqq.

(2) Ibn-i-Khaldun. Vol. III. Urdu Tr. p. 228-29.

Most of Persian literature (prose and poetry) has disappeared due to Alaud-Din Jahan Suz's attack on Ghazna, Ghuzzattack and Mongol invasions. Only a few books have come down to us (1). Court patronage seems to be the chief source of encouragement to Persian literature at this period. This encouragement might be the result of the ignorance of the Saffarids and Samanids of Arabic language or they might have supported the cause of Persian due to their national pride. But for this second conjecture we have no sufficient material to support except that during this period Persian nationalism got its rebirth as a result of which both in Persian and Arabic many Shahnamahs and Andarznamahs were compiled. But we don't come across any separatist movement in linguistic field. We find poets of Arabic at the courts of Persian rulers.

COURT LANGUAGE OF) The author of Tariks-i-Sistan, while describing  
SAFFARIDS AND ) the achievements of Yaqub-i-Laith, after  
SAMANIDS. ) commenting upon his return to Sistan says that  
poets of Arabs read their poems before him and

چون این شعر بر خواندند ازاد عالم نبود و در نیافت  
نیکو داشت و به آن اوزی را ناراضی بود پس یعقوب گفت: چیری که من اندر نیام چو ایامی گفت و بخیر  
بن و صیف پس شریار را گفت گرفت و او را شریار را شری در عجم او گفت

(2)

Notes: (1) There are about four books extant:

- i. Introduction to Shahnamah compiled in 346 A.H. and published by Mirza Muhammad Qazwini in the second volume of his Bistmaqalah (pp. 1-53).
- ii. Balami's translation of Tabari's book (352 A.H.)
- iii. Tafsir (Balami)
- iv. Kitabul abyā An Haqaiqul adwyaḥ by Abu Manṣur bin Ali al Harwi. (compiled between 350-366 A.H.)

(2) Tarikh-i-Sistan. pp. 209, 210.





The people of Makran spoke Persian and Makrani in the 4th c. the general public at Sindh and Multan understood Persian (as well), because we are told the Persian Khutabah of Dayalmites was current in the mosques there (1). Saffarids patronized Arabic writers and Mutarraslin (e.g. Badiuzzaman Hamadani and 'Abul Fath Busti). Khalaf Ibn-i-Ahmed was himself a great Scholar of Arabic. No persian Farman of this period has come down to us, therefore it is not possible to pass any remark on the nature of the language used in state documents, though we can guess it differed from the every day persian in being a bit ornate and near in spirit and diction to Qasidas. If Tawqiat-i-Bal'ami (Persian?) or any other book had come down to us we would have made definite remarks.

GHAZNAWIDS ) The protege of Samamids Alaptgin was appointed  
BOWAYHIDS & )  
ABBASIDS. ) governor of Khurasan on behalf of Nuh bin Mansur in 384 A.H. but the independence of this dynasty should be dated from Mahmud (388-421 A.H.). The Turkish independence against their Irani overlords was based on military power. "The rise of the Turkish power at Ghazni, led to the extinction of the Hindu Shahi (founded by Kalar in and around Kabul). Its egressive policy of conquest compelled the Shahi to shift its political centre more and more towards the Punjab and forego all claims to the Kingdom of Kabul"(2). Thus the Ghaznawids had fought with "infidels"--as the muslim historians of this period liked to name these hindus. Mahmuds Indian campaigns are a continuation of his attempts at a desire of muslim leadership by winning the population to his side through strong measures against "heresy". "His Holy Wars against idol-worshippers attracted a large number of volunteers from distant lands like Khurasan and Central Asia, who enlisted in his army"(3). Turkish dominance never checked the compilation of Shahnamahs and Anderznamah as a regular movement, in fact they never seem to have tried this.

- Notes: (1) Ghani (Pre-Mughal Lit). p.93. (vide Ref. Muqaddasi's Ahsan at Tagasim).  
(2) Tõpa (Politics in Pre-Mughal times) chap. I. p.20.  
(3) Shushtri (culture) Vol. I. p.31.

They allowed the flow of Iranian influence in its Islamised form and checked it only where it exceeded its reasonable limits. Mutazilites were kept silent and Qirmatis where curbed and crushed (1). The rising tide of Isma'ilis from Egypt was cut short at the borders. The Turks appealed to the martial spirit and remained successful to the last. Mahmud became the leader of Islam and his court poets respected nay worshiped him and attributed divine manifestations to him (2). Tasawuf was there, Shiaism was there, Sunism was there and metaphysical movement was also allowed to have its influence. This served as a subject matter for literature in general and poetry in particular. The Turkish liking for superstition did not manifest itself under the Ghaznawids and showed itself only under Seljuqs, the reason being the static state of society in Agriculturist countries. Therefore literature was slow to absorb new influences. Similar was the case with Masnu, Persians were slow to give way to ornate language in literature. Under the Samnids Persian and Arabic started running parallel, one never displacing the other, except for practical purposes. The two continued to flourish under the Ghaznawids as well. There was no distinction of Arab and non-Arab in the field of letters. We do not come across, in the histories of Ghaznawids period (3) any indication at a separatist tendency in language. They classified writers into groups on linguistic basis and not on territorial basis. The scholars of Arabic (may they be Persians or Arabs) formed one group whereas Persian scholars (including all non-Persians who wrote Persian) formed the other. In most of the cases one and the same person belonged to both the groups. So we can assert that to these historians language was a medium of expression and not a national heritage. The list of bilingual (Persian and Arabic) writers under the Ghaznawids is

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Notes: (1) 'Utbi (English Tr.) Introduction. p. xxix.

(2) Firdawsi says:

چون که کتاب از شعر و نثر است  
بر گویش مردم و هر دو به نثر است

(3) The examples can be found on every page in books like Tarikh-i-Sistan, Tarikh-i-Baihaqi and Zain-ul-Akhbar.



is lengthy than the list quoted under the Samanids. To mention only a few names, Shamsul Kafat Abul Qasim Ahmed, Abul Fath Busti, Muyyidul Mulk Abu Bakr, Abul Qasim, Abul Ala, etc.etc. (1).

Such was the condition of affairs at Ghazna. In the territory of Bowayhids Arabic, being spoken language was popular. These Irani Shias were not only the rulers of Daylam, but had also snatched the crest from the hands of Turkish bodyguards and from 945 A.D. to 1055 A.D. kept the Caliphs at Bagdad as puppets in their hands (2). They not only brought the Caliphate under their sway, but also became the champions of the cause of Arabic language. Their rivalry against the Caliphs also extended in the field of patronage of letters.

... and Dawlah was the patron of Mutanabbi, Sullami and Ghuzi. They

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THE OFFICE LANGUAGE OF) "During the first eleven years of Ghaznawi  
THE GHAZNAWIDS. )

rule Persian was the office language. The first wazir of Mahmud, Abul Abbas Fadl bin Ahmed did not know Arabic therefore the whole of the office work was carried on in Persian.

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Notes: (1) Awfi (Lubab) Vol. I. pp. 63,64,67,69,72,75 etc.etc.

(2) Nicholson. p. 266.

In 407 A.H. when Abul Qasim Ahmed bin Hasan Maimandi was appointed Wazir, he being a scholar of Arabic changed it to Arabic. But this change was not a complete denunciation of Persian language. On an occasion where the addressee knew Persian the letters and documents despatched to him were in Persian" (1). During the reign of Mas'ud Persian language again replaced Arabic. Ghani says: "The one great factor in creating a general taste for the people of Hindustan was the institution of Diwan-i-Risalat"(2). He further says(3) "(The correspondence department) was founded by him (Mahmud), which achieved great popularity--Only the learned who were efficient writers of Persian prose, having a good taste in poetry were eligible for the appointment (in this office). Thus the competition among the public for possessing a competent knowledge of the Persian language was very keen, since every one who had brains and ambition aspired to this post". This quotation needs reservations. If the word 'founded' (4) is changed in to "not stopped" and the word Arabic be added to the word Persian though out of the quotation, the paragraph would be near reality.

PERSIAN PROSE )  
UNDER THE GHAZNAWIDS.)

Prose during this period is not very different from that of Samani period. Bu 'Ali Sina's Miraj Namah and Danish Namah-i-Alai shows that during Mahmud's period Persian prose followed the Matbu school, though in Persian poetry in addition to Mulamat all the Arabic traditions along with Arabic vocabulary (especially Arabic Rhymes and meters) were on the increase. It is interesting to note that Bu 'Ali who was able to write three Qasidas in Arabic with grotesque vocabulary and was the author of three prose works each written in the styles of masters like Iban-ul-Amid, Sabi and Sahib (5) seems to be the exponent of only one simple and direct style in Persian. Muhammad Hussain Azad's remarks (6).

- Notes: (1) Shairani (Tanqid) p.141.  
(2) Ghani (Pre-Mughal) p.225.  
(3) Ibid. p.225,226.  
(4) To take first steps in erecting.  
(5) Ahmed Khurasani (Danish Namah Introduction) p-----  
(6) Azad. (Sakhundan-i-Pars) pp. 50-54 and also introduction to Danish Namah (Ahmed Khurasan)p-----to-----



about the book are useful for those who want to know what gramatical changes took place in Persian language from 5th c. A.H. to the present day, but not very useful for our present purpose.

GHAZNA ) After Mahmud's invasions Ghazna and Lahore became one  
& )  
LAHORE.) in the sense that they started influencing the literary activities of each other. Though we cannot fully agree with Ghani in his remark that long before Mahmud these ties had been established between Ghazna and Lahore, because Lahore as a literary centre became popular only ~~after~~ a few years after Mahmud (1) After Mahmud's invasion it (Lahore) became a second capital of Ghaznawi empire and its social and cultural importance increased(2). "The whole tract of land extending from the borders of Delhi to the centres of learning in Persia was one long connecting chain dominated by Persian influence and culture--All the provinces and cities lying in this zone were swayed by one civilization and one literature which was persian, and this had penetrated so deep into the heart of the population from the man in the street to the king on the throne that the distinction between Ghazni and Lahore of Khurasan and the Punjab was never felt (3)". Was this possible had Iranian Nationalism been in power? During this period Iranian National feeling was at its lowest ebb. That is why during the Ghaznawid period the renowned poets like Unsuri, Farrukhi, Minuchihri, Mukhtari, Sanai, Masud-i-Sadi Sulman and others have freely used Hindi words and expressions in their persian compositions" (4). Persians had disliked the idea of using Arabic words in their language in the beginning, but later on under the Turkish rule they had given up this idea and now when Arabic influences had changed their outlook they were ready to allow the use of Hindi words in their poems. Thus the little out-let called the Khaiber pass which has always played a tragic part in the destiny of India is important for persian language for its often condemned Indian element.

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Notes. (1) Ikram. p.55. (Chasma-i-Kawthar) says-----

(2) Shairani (Urdu Journal) No. 89, V. 23, Year 1943. p.8.

(3) Ghani (Pre-Mughal) p. xxii.

(4) Ibid. p. 483.

Chapter IV.

THE GOLDEN AGE OF THE SELJUKS.

(421 A.H. to 590 A.H.)

The Golden Age of the Seljuqs.

With the death of Mahmud of Ghazna a new chapter opens in the history of Persian prose literature. The centres of literary activity in Indo-Iranian continent were Ghazni (under Ghaznawids), Lahore Nishapuer (under Seljuqs) Bukhara (under Samanids) and Khiwa (under Khwarizm Shahis). The literary activity had been shifting over from city of city, due to the ever changing governments, the court patronage and the gipsy temperament of scholars. The importance of cities rose and fell accordingly. When the Samainds fell, Bokhara lost its importance. The rise of Khwarizm Shahis brought to importance the city of Khiwa. The Seljuq ascendancy brought to light Merv and Nishapur. The patronage extended by Mahmud to scholars and poets was copied by the newly arising states as well. Poetry got the lead no doubt but prose was not neglected altogether, it got a permanent place as language of offices under the Seljuqs the Khwarizm Shahis and the successors of Mahmud. Nearly all the state correspondence of Seljuqs and Khwarizm Shahis preserved to this day is in Persian (with the exception of few letters written to the Caliphs at Bagdad). The court correspondence by Bahai Bagdadi Rashid-ud-Din Wat wat and Muntajibud Din is to be found in Persian. The eastern parts of Iran (it seems) though it did not lack in its patronage to Arabic still the language was not the spoken language of the people. We find bilingual (Arabic and Persian) scholars and poets e.g. Hakim Jalal, Abul Hasan Ali Bahrami Sarkhasi, Abu Nasr Ahmed b. Ibrahim and Masud-i-Sad-i-Salman (1) but there are clear signs of Arabic not being the spoken language in Eastern Iran e.g. the existance of a vocabulary book Mantiq (2) the remarks of Qadi Hamid ud Din (3). and also those of the author of Marzban Namah (4).

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Notes. (1) Awfi (Lubab) Vol. II. pp. 68, 69, 103, 193, 294.

(2) Shairani proceedings of Idara-i-Maarifi-Islamiyyah 1933) p. 93.

(3) Hamid-ud-Din (Magamat) Introduction.

(4) Warawini. Introduction



But the intelligentsia preferred to learn the language of religion, the language of polite society. Thus Arabic influence were bound to enter Persian language literature.

ARABIC ) The territories of Buwayhids and the Abbasid Caliph  
INFLUENCES.) had been patronizing Arabic literature. The poetry of Mutanabbi had brought a revolutionary change in the taste of the people and Eastern parts of Iran too felt the inrush of advancing tides. Arabic was appreciated in all the above mentioned courts whether situated in the East or the West. The poets and writers throughout Indo-Iranian territories shifted from one side to the other. The craze for learning and the necessity of journey had greatly been felt by the scholars of this period. Love for pilgrimage to Mecca brought every year from Eastern parts peasants, scholars and poets to the Western territories. Court patronage and love of journey set the clock the other way. So was the condition of affairs, if the anecdotes of Maqamat-i-Hamidi are to be taken (though of course not actual but) as real. This constant amalgamation of writers brought new elements in Persian literature. Turkish influences along with the Arabic gave to Persian-Literature certain very deep rooted effects.

The foremost among these are linguistic disputes. Arabic language had absorbed in it a special like for *Sarf* and *Nahw*. Hitti's remarks on this point are very apt. He says "the whole period was marked by predominance of humanistic over scientific studies. Intellectually it was a period of decline. It supported a literary proletariat, many of whose members with no independent means of livelihood, roamed from place to place, ready to give battle over linguistic issues and grammatical technicalities or to measure poetical swords over trivial matters with a view to winning favours from wealthy patrons"(1). This deterioration of attitude prevalent among the scholars of Arabic entered the Eastern territories with great force and volume. The Seljuqs had no interest to go astray from the general taste.

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Notes. (1) Hitti (History of the Arabs) p.403.

They were ready to accept all that could set high their prestige, parallel to that of the court at Bagdad. More over they had no love for all that could like territorial distinctions to the negligence of ~~the~~ religion. Turkish tribes were moving to and fro, settling in Iranian territories or moving to Western borders to take part against the Crusaders. They were ready to accept both Persian and Arabic languages as their own. Their dominant racial trait (which is nothing but the environmental trait) was the acceptance of orthodox views.

TURKS) Julius Jermans the famous professor from Bodapust says, "The personality of a man of will was the organizing force of disorganized and scattered elements in a Turani state. When the glamour of the person of the leader faded out or he faced some other stronger opponent, the state dissolved as easily as it had come into existence, a new state used to spring out on its ashes. The signs of the geographical conditions in which these (Turks) lived and their history are so distinct they have never fully been able to set it aside. You may go far behind in study of their past history you won't find any visible change in their political organization an organization which can easily be summed up as the reign of army over the horrified subjects" (1) Thus their marshal spirit shows the tribal element of hero-worship which allowed the Irani tendency of the praise of kings. But their orthodoxy readily accepted the conservative attitude already pulsating in Arabic literature through the defective system of education which was defensive, rigid and conventional. Turks were the overlords and held most of the Jagirs in Ghaznin (2) Seljuqs had made it much more organized (3). The kings and their nobility had too primitive a conception of propagating their superiority over others. The monarch not only tried to over awe their rivals through justice, military organization and integrity of their empire, they also preferred to over awe each other though boasting of having intelligent wazirs,

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- Notes. (1) Julius Jermans (Turkon ki Islami Khidmat. Urdu Tr.) p.6.  
 (2) Miss. Iqbal Shafi (fresh light on the Ghaznavids. Persian but of Fekhr-i-Mudabbirs (کتاب فخر المصنف و المصنفین) p.20  
 دولت غزنویہ چنانچہ تاسیس است کہ از انواع و اقسام و لغات و شاہ بہار خواہند خوان توانی انواع و اقسام بہار  
 و ترک بچکان است  
 (3) Abdur Razzaq (Nizam-ul-Mulk Tusi) p. 623. (Nizam-ul-Mulk was the man to organize it).





This was one aspect of mysticism. It had another aspect as well--the semi sexual aspect. The conception of beauty is sensuous and worldly (1) The strange combination of the mystic and the sexual colours the whole age.

Hero worship appears in Courts, Khanqahs and Schools. The writers suffered under the heavy yoke of a passive attitude. The previous masters were to be imited and appreciated for the simple reason of difference in age. This reverance to elders, stoped further progress and the writers started working out the details rather than to allow any noticable change in the general structure. Ross has traced its influences on paintings in his introduction to Blochet's book in the following words. "The basis of Persian art, as of Persian poetry is conventional and the task, the artist and the poet set themselves, is not so much originality of style as perfection of treatment----- in their drawings they adhere rigidly to conventional perspective as a purposeful neglect of relative light and shade. Poets and painters with their fixed standards and a limited range of subject before them aim at technical excellence and only rarely at a new idea" (2).

It was further intensified by the system of education. The study of Arabic grammar led to the study of words, and phrases. It was visible in Persian as well. "It is a strange circumstance,

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Notes. (1) Note the following verse of Sanai in praise of God.

for the explanation <sup>و بهر یک شایسته حاکمان</sup> the reader is requested to consult Arzu's Chiragh-i-Hidayat. During the Seljuq period the conception of pleasure seems to be sexual e.g. V. maqamah of Maqamat-i-Hamidi (about the relation of words and meaning see, also Ibid. p. 35,36.) where in drinking of wine has been intrepred in terms of "worship" (Ibadat)

(2) Blochet (Musulman painting XIIth and XVIIIth c.) p. IX. also compare Pope (A survey of Persian architecture) p. 1043 (under Seljuq Period)

"The carpet on which the Persions sit are full of self contained movement since the Persian eye likes the stimulation of an intricate but well limited promenade. Essentially therefore the form of persian art well express- es the subtleties of iner mass. Their surfaces will be full of fluent undisturbing life. As a workman the Persian is remarkable in his gift for sustained labour in traceable media. That may be why he prefers brick to stone. As an artist---he is varacious of novelty, but very little susceptible of profound change---what remained unexpressed (in paintings of the seljuq period) was the sense of colour only".

that in all Shemitic races, and in those nations which have been influenced by Shemitic literature Grammar is considered an end and not a means to learning. Thus the ingenuity of Native oriental scholars has, from time immemorial, been wasted in drawing subtle and recondite meanings from every word, and even the position of a diacritic sign or point. That master piece of learning. The Maqamat-i-Hariri is a mere peg on which to hang grammatical problems. To acquire that learning, they pursue, as well have been inferred the round about way, a way which confounds the idioms peculiar to language with the laws common to all language" (1). In a system of education where a student was expected to memorize long and tiresome passages and where in a single passage a host of linguistic problems be forcibly put in, and the student be expected to learn it up if only imitators come out there is nothing to wonder. The popularity of Maqamat points to this aspect of the problem. The brier notes were commented upon in big volumes, thus completely barring the way of individual efforts. Seljuq architecture, we are told, is devoid of colour plaster, but strangely enough both prose and poetry of this period are not devoid of colours. The Ghaznawid taste for artificial gardens satisfied itself not only in constructing enclosed gardens at Ghani but also found its way in the poetry of Minuchibri, Farrukhi and other poets. The strong perfume of flowers around the city of Ghazna gave to poetry a love for vivid depiction of flowers and similes and metaphors borrowed from it. The Musajja prose was also influenced by it. Along with the metaphors of Gul and Nastran, wine and the associated phenomenon also entered Persian literature in the form of Mutalaqat-i-Shiri. Under the Ghaznawids and also the Seljuqs, wine had been widely drunk. Most of the kings courtiers and poets were wine addicts. In this respect they were the true descendents of the Umayyid and Abbasid Caliphs. Farruki (under Mahmud) performed prayers and drank wine alternately (2) The authors of Qabus Namah and Siyasat Namah have devoted full chapters to Adab-i-Sharab Khorī. The author of <sup>Rahat</sup> us Sudur has collected Fatwas in favour of drinking. Thus the atmosphere at the courts suggested metaphors derived from wine and both poetry and Musajja prose got a complete emotional texture.

Notes. (1) Leitner (A lecture on the Race of Turkey and the state of Muslim Education) p.15.

(2) Nizami Arudi (Mqalah II.) (under Farrukhi)



THE LOVE FOR  
MASNU IN PERSIAN  
POETRY.

) In Persian poetry 'Udairi had started Ighraq  
) and Ishtiqaq under the Ghaznawids (1) Unsuri also  
wrote Masnu verses (2). During the Seljuq regime in Western parts of  
Iran intricate and involved way (Ashar-i-Mushkilah) of writing verse  
by Abdul Wasi Gurjistani (Jabali) (3), that of double rhyme (4) by  
Qatran of Tabriz and involved way of expression of Nizami of Ganjah  
denote towards the love for Masnu in the Western parts of Iran. It  
was due to the fact that Maqamat-i-Hariri was a text book in Kufah  
and Basrah. The declaration of Wat-wat under Atsiz-----

----- (5)  
بشیر ازین نظم و نکتہ است کہ تمام مردم خواہ عربی و خواہ فارسی

and the Qasidah of the Mujir Bailqani in praise of Qizl Arslan -----

----- (6) throws light towards the increasing interest  
for the Masnu. Sanai (7) Dhulfiqar Sharwani (8) Badr-ud-Din Jajarmi  
(9) also point to the same.

TENDENCY OF  
MASNU IN PROSE.)

) In poetry the Iranis had started the Masnu so  
in prose the early examples of Masnu are to be found  
in the writings of Iranians themselves. Turks had created an atmo-  
sphere of brotherhood among all the peoples and made the interaction  
of Persian and Arabic easy. Persians had no hatred against the  
Arabic language though it probably accidental that they copied all  
those models of Arabic literature which were the contribution of the  
Persians themselves. All the prose compositions of this period can  
easily be divided in to Masnu and Matbu camps.

Notes. (1) Dawlat Shah (Damin Ali. ed.) p.6.

(2) Ibid. p.16.

(3) Ibid. p. 39.

(4) Ibid. p. 34, Nasir Khusraw informs us about Qatran in the  
following words.

دربار قاتران نامشاعر را دیدم بشیروانیک گفت آقا زبان فارسی نیکو نمی دانست  
آمد و دیوان منمیک و دیوان دینی بیادرد و پیش من بخواند و بر منی که اورا مشکل بود آن  
من برسدید با و باگفتم

(Safar Namah. Berlin. ed. p.8.) Hamdul Ullah Mustawfi of  
Mongol period says:

راغب: ادبی سفید چهره و ترک و خوشی باطنه و پیش تر بر منزه و صفتی باشد و زبان شیرین و بیادرد

(5) Dawlat Shah. p. 50.

(6) Ibid. p.70.

(7) Ibid. p.81.

(8) Ibid. p.82.

(9) Ibid. p. 145. (نظم در صحنه حذف نقطه)



TWO SCHOOLS OF )  
PROSE CONCEPTION.)

Such a classification in prose is dangerous.

When Qafiyah gets the fore most importance it can easily lead to an involved way of expression and when it is accompanied by similes and metaphors and is allotted a separate heaven the difficulty becomes all the more heavy. Balghat had its own evils, it gave writers the static conception of sound value----one word preferred over the other not for communicative purposes but for the sake of its connection with the teeth or throat of the writer or perhaps for the sake of agreement in rhyme. More over two types of prose were to live in water tight compartments. This greatly hampered the development of Persian prose as an active force because every adherent to a school of prose had limitations over his selection of vocabulary and sets of phrases. A style can never accept without sacrificing much of its originality such collective controls. Every writer should have, as his birth right, the total vocabulary of a language at his command, it is not healthy to divide his choice into two halves. The idea of such a classification was resented by Kaikaus (1). But it was the other extreme. The total rejection of simile, metaphor and Qafiyah was foolish. Why to debar a writer from his natural resources? Rhetoric is not bad, it is only its misuse that should be condemned. We should also reject the artificial barriers between one set of vocabulary and the other. Bahai Bagdadi had broken the rigid classification and it was this act of his which ought to have been taken up as a method but unfortunately (not his conception but) his writings were taken up as models. Imitation was the result. Note how healthy his conception was

و قوی بیان طبیعت فرای گذارند و سخن عذب فصیح بی داعیه تکلف و شائسته تصنیف می رانند و اختیار  
جامعی که در ترکیب سخن و قوی و تلفیق معانی قدرتی دارند - این قسم است و جد حقیقت آن که مبارزان میدان  
سخن و مبارزان مضار سزایده اند در تازی این صواب مسلوک داشتند و بر این جاده قوی و بی  
مستقیم رفتند - و طایفه دیگر سخن مصنوع طوفی می کنند و بجز ب طاق و وفق امنیت خویش  
و کتابت را به تنهایی مختلف چون تجسس و اشتقاق و موازنه و مطابقت و غیر آن حشوین گردانند  
و گردوی رقم اختیار بر سخن لطیف آید و کلمات عذب خویش گوارای می کنند و در وقت الفاظ  
می گویند نه در وقت معانی پس من .... در نسخ سخن نمی آید اختیار کرده ام و نوعی تزیین و ام  
هر یک از این اقسام - چنانکه در مضامین کتابت از هر نوعی بوی دار پر شیوه شده و بحشام  
خاطر مستمع بر بی مصلحت گرفته می شود و نگاه را باین مصنوع کرده می آید - و درین نوع سندی می بود و  
بآن طرز رجوع می افکند (2)

Notes. (1) Kaikaus (Qabus Namah) p. 153.

(2) Bahai Baghdadi p. 10, 11.



Bahai's conception was not followed, only his style was imitated as a specific form of the Masnu. The situation reviewed by Bahai (in the following words) continued:--

سین ہا عیار مکرر ہوتا ہے۔ داتا طبع و مطبوعہ را بحسب اقتضا و ضوابط اقسام فراوان  
و انواع مختلفہ امتدت۔ مطبوعہ ہا کلام جزل و کلمہ ہا ہست کہ آثار کثرت خاطر او اشعار و ان خطا پینہ می شود  
یا سکتی و قیون دول آدین کہ دولہ علی لفظ طبع و ان نامت ہر ہا (فتا)

INSHA LITERATURE) The information about the Insha works of this OF THIS PERIOD. )

period is very meagre. There are nine such writers, to wit Ghazzali (d. 517 A.H.) Ain Ul Qadat Abul Ma'ali Abdullah b. Ali ul Minyanji (near Tabriz) (d. 533 A.H.) Ghauthul Azam (d. 561 A.H.) Rashid-ud-Din Wat-wat (d. 573 A.H.?) Muntajibud Din (alive in 552 A.H.) Bahaud Din Baghdadi (alive in 588 A.H.), Nur-ud-Din Munshi and Radi-ud-Din Khashshab. The last four have been commented upon by Muhammad b. Hindu Shah (alive 757 A.H.) in the following words. "Their style has become antiquated (1)" The name of Hamid-ud-Din should also be added to the above list.

Ghazzali's letters have been mentioned by Rieu in his catalogue (2). Ain Ul Qadat was a disciple of Imam Ghazzali and his "letters consist for the most part of Sufi speculations and comments upon the esoteric meaning of the precepts of the Muhammadan law, of the articles of the creed and of some text of the Coran. The person or persons to whom they were written are not named but only designated as the 'dear friend' or the 'the dear brother' (3)". The letters of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Gilani (better known as Ghauthul Azam) (4) were collected and supplemented with comments by Shaikh Ali Muttaqi Jaunpuri (b. 885 A.H. d. 975 A.H.) These letters, which relate to the doctrines of Sufism are generally based on verses of the Quran and on Hadith. They are not addressed to particular persons but are generally introduced by the word-----ای عزیز (5)

- Notes. (1) Sup. Rieu. p. 122. For the biographical sketches on the these four Munshis see. Iqbal Ashtiyani's Int. to Hadaiq us Sihr. Iqbal Ashtiyani's Int. to Hadaiq us Sihr of Wat-wat p. 115. Nur-ud-Din Munshi is the author of Sirat-i-Sultan Jalal Din Mankubirti, while Radi ud Din Ahmed was, the author of a collection of letters. (Ibid. ref. Kashfuz Zunun). The name of Kamali Bokharai should also be added to the list (see. Ibid. p. 115)
- (2) Rieu. Vol. III. p. 1058. or 2063 Foll. 31-33. letters by Ghazzali to Ain-ul-Qadat; Rieu. Vol. I. p. 411.
- (3) Rieu. Vol. I. p. 411. (4). Bod. L. Cat. p. 825, No. 1335 (contains 25 letters). Banki 16 p. 61 No. 1385 & also Shairani. O.U.L. No. 1937. (5) Banki. (16) p. 61.



Wat-wat's (Munshi to Khawarizm Shahis) letters in Persian have not yet been collected and arranged from the collection of letters preserved in the Leningrad Library (1). Its rotograph has been obtained by the Iranian government. The style of Wat-wat though simple in his *Hadaiq-us-Sihr* is *Masnū* in his court correspondence.

Muyyid -ud-Dawlah Ali b. Ahmed Muntajib-ud-Din Badi Atabek al Jwaini the court scribe of Sanjer is the author of a collection of letters *Atab-tul-Katabti*. His work has been treated for centuries a model for style in Persian speaking countries (2). The book was arranged between 528 A.H. and 548 A.H. Its unique Ms copy is in the Library of the Khadiw's of Egypt. It has not yet been published though its rotograph has been procured by the Iranian Government.

Baha-ud-Din Baghdadi the Munshi of Ala-ud-Din Tuksh Khwarizm shah (568-596 A.H.) is the author of a collection of letters (official and private). The book has two Ms copies one in Leyden (Holland) (3) and the other in Bib. Nat. Paris (4). It has been published by the Iranian ministry of Education. The book is not a very pleasant reading and the author seems to have fallen into the mud of his own verbosity. His genius unfolds itself only in adjectival clauses but there too he is never above the ordinary level. His sentences sound like the rattling of a chariot, they are majestic but emotionless.

~~Maqamat~~ Hamidi of Qadi Hamidi ~~of Qadi Hamid~~ -ud-Din is important for certain reasons other than the intrinsic value of the book.

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- Notes. (1) Iqbal Ashtiyani has deciphered about 57 letters of Wat-wat from the Lenin Grad Ms. (see. Int. to *Hadaiq-us-Sihr* pp. ١٢٠ ) he also points out that there are a few others by Farid-ud-Din Abdul Wasi Jabali Ghurjistani (Ibid. p. ١٢٠ ). The collection also contains letters of Shamas-ud-Din Jwaini Sahib-i-Diwan and his brother Ata Malik Jwaini (of the Mongol period). see. *Bist Maqalah* of Mirza Muhammad Qazwini Vol. II. p. 166.  
 (2) Qazwini (*Bist Maqalah* Vol. II.) p. 156.  
 (3) Qazwini (*Bist Maqalah* Vol. II) p. 196.  
 (4) I.H. Quraishi. p. 282.

It is the first book of its kind in Persian literature and its influence on the subsequent ages is enormous. It was treated as a text book for schools immediately after its compilation (1) and Anwari, the famous Persian poet of the period wrote verses honouring the compilation of the Qadi (2). Thus the book was taken up as model for style by court scribes from the very beginning. Its technique is an imitation of Arabic works of the same type e.g. Maqamat-i-Hariri, and Maqamat-i-Hamadani. It was an off shoot of Khutabat and Munazarat. Its importance is enhanced by the fact that it is in maqamat that we find the early germs of different branches of Insha Literature e.g. in Munazarat, Khutabat (3) and Sifat (4). These three branches of Insha Literature got into Insha Literature through the influence of the Maqamat works of Arabic and Persian. These works have influenced the course of Persian prose in general and Insha literature in particular and their importance in this respect is very great. But can either popularity and influence be treated as a criterion of value? We shall have to consider the two problems (influence and value) separately. The first will be dealt with in the course of other chapters (where ever the occasion arises) while the second one is the subject of the present one.

**MAQAMAT** The subject invites a sharp distinction between three of its aspects (i) its linguistic aspect (ii) its emotional aspect and (iii) its technique side. The third point need not detain us long because in this respect the maqamat are a part of fiction though of course of the type of picaresque novels. All that we want to point out here about this aspect is that each chapter of the book is independent of the other. The only point of unity among different chapters is that the central figure is the same throughout. The method of starting every chapter is repetative so is the end (where) almost always the actor jumps out of the stage and disappears).

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- Notes.** (1) Nizami Arudi (Chahar Muqala) Maqala I. and also Warawini (Marzuban Namah) Int. p.3  
 (2) Shairani (Tanqid-i-Shir-ul-Ajam) p.249.  
 (3) Enc. of Islam. p. 251. (under Hamidi)  
 (4) Browne (Lit. Hist. of Persia) Vol. II. p. 343.

The common tie is the language which is oratorical and circumscribed by convention. The events and characters are only a happy extra-pleasure because the main object before the Maqama writer was his display of his own knowledge and eloquence. This brings us to the problem of language as the crucial point in Maqamah. Grammarians were the first to take it up as a form for the presentment of their linguist problems. Thus "every sentence is a drop of grammatical gold" and every chapter the store house "of vast stories of curious learning". And who was this student of the capital who indulged in all this? He was as Chenery points out the "Rawi of early ages" (1). The Rawis of early ages and the Khatibs of post-Islamic period are the fore-fathers of this tendency of the playful handling of emotions. This playful handling of emotions took place through Sajja. The earlier traces of Sajja are the proclamation of the Kahins (2) exhibiting double meaning, and the Khutbahs of Ali (3) ~~are earlier examples.~~ Its use in Maqamah was done by Ibn-i-Duraïd (4) (b. 223 A.H.). He belonged to the Add clan of Umman whom Arabs do not consider Arab (5). He was followed by Hamadani (d. 398 A.H.) an other Irani (the author of the wellknown Maqamat-i-Badiuzzaman). He was followed by another writer from Basra, Hariri (b. 446 A.H.)

All these Maqamat are in Arabic---Hamid-ud-Din was the first to imitate these authors in Persian in his Maqamat-i-Hamidi. Hariri and Hamadani were the two text books for schools and had been very popular during the days of Hamidi.

LITERARY VALUE) Apart from its social value (i.e. from a sociological stand point) let us judge its literary value. The emotions are not there in Maqamat-i-Hamidi though there is an empty show of the so called emotive language. It is all vulgar, as a Huxley ~~xxxxxx~~ would like to call it. T. define vulgarity in Huxley's words: "It is vulgar, in literature to make a display of emotions which you do not naturally have, but think you ought to have, because all the best people do have them". (1) Thus the mischief was set at work and Persian prose writers, as a class, drew further and further into a paradise accessible to fools only. This is vulgar, this is intolerable.

Notes. (1) (Chenery. (Al Hariri Eng. Tr.) p. 17.

(2) For examples. See Nasikhut Tawarikh Vol. II. book. I. p. 454

(3) Hitti. p. 249. Chap. xxi. (4) Maarif. No. 2. Vol. 25. p. 364.

(5) Enc. of Islam. (6) Huxley. (vulgarity in Literature). p. 37.



Chapter V.

UNDER THE LEGS OF COLOSSUS.

(590 A.H. to 725 A.H.)

## CHAPTER V.

### Under the Legs of Clossus.

Passing references have already been made to the condition of Persian prose literature produced in India. It was mainly devoted to the literature produced in and around Khurasan--the main territory of Seljuqs. A detailed account of India had been omitted due to lack of material at our disposal. Not that in India at that time no literary activity made itself felt but on the other hand, there had already (during the Ghaznawid period) grown up a separate literary and linguistic tradition. The Khanqah of Abu Nasr, the Sufis, the Primary Schools, the Military Classes, the Diwan-i-Rasail and the migratory poets, all these prepared a separate centre, as already alluded to in Chapter III. The tendencies clustering round these culture groups influenced the writers of Indian origin as well as those who dropped in Northern India. These as a result produced literature distinct from that of Khurasan (1) Northern India had its trade and cultural relations with Transoxiana and Sistan, but there is nothing to prove that it was very close to the Central Provinces of Iran (including Khurasan) (2) only those poets and writers influenced upper Indian Persian literature, who came either in direct contact with India or whose reputation crossed all geographical limits. Among these fortunate poets of the second group Sa'adi of Shiraz, Nizami of Ganja, Khaqani of Sharwan, Anwari of Khawaran and Kamal of Khujand are worth mentioning and among prose writers Gazzali, A'inul mulk Hamadani, Majdud-ud-Din (Majdud din? ~~61~~) Jajurmi (4) Nasrullah(?) (5) and B-ahai Baghdadi (3) must be noted.

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Notes. (1) By Khurasan I have taken to mean throughout this book, Central Part of Iran. In fact the dimensions of the province of Khurasan have been changing nearly always under every ruler. Had I followed the changing dimensions it would have given way to confusion to readers. The present method is vague but not confusing.

(2) Infra.

(3) Baghdad is a suburb of Khawarizm, see. Rieus catalogue and also Al-Tawasul ilat Tarassul (Introduction)

(4) Compare Khusraw (Ijaz) vol. I. p. 54, 55, 56, 57.

(5) There were two ~~224-225~~ prior to Khusraw (1) Rasid-ud-Din of Ghazna whose book is no more extant and Nasrullah Munshi. (2) It is probably this second one whom Khusraw mentions.

The Ghazi movement which had originated during the Ghaznavi period in the districts of Khurasan and Transoxiana had shifted over to India, and Turkey. It is primarily this consideration that I deem necessary to deal India in the later part of the present Chapter as a separate item. Mongol invasions had also their effect on the lands of the so called Caliphate. Its influences on India were of a different type from both Persia and Asia Minor. This is another cause for treating India separately.

### I R A N.

MONGOL INVASIONS) This was the condition of affairs in Iran and India when Chingiz Khan started his excursions from Mongolia in 616 A.H. (to 625 A.H.) thus introducing in the legacy of the Ghaznavids and Saljuqs a peculiar but distinct element of discontent and social disintegration which influenced life and literature of Persian Savants (Scholars and Ulama). The social consequences of these invasions are more visible. The population of Iran was reduced to the minimum. They came in two waves "the first---fell chiefly on Khurasan and extended westwards as far as Rai, Qum, Kashan and Hamadan. The "Second---of Hulaku's invasion broke on Khurasan at the beginning of 1256 A.D. (-654 A.H.) engulfed alike the heretical Ismailis of Alamut and Kuhistan and the gallant and orthodox caliphate of Baghdad." (1)

INFLUENCE OF ) By these two invasions of Chingiz and Hulaku"  
THESE INVASIONS.) the population was almost exterminated and land reverted to desert" (2) The chief literary centres of Iran; Bokhara, Khujand, Khiva, Balkh, Nishapur and Herat were destroyed by Chingiz and Baghdad by Hulaku. It was only southern Persia that escaped this 'blast of death'. On literature the result of this general massacre was twofold. Persian poetry lost court patronage and literature lost Savants---many of whom were killed, some had to fly for

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Notes. (1) Browne. Vol. II. p. 445 & 446.

(2) Ibid. (ref. Tarikh-i-Jahangusha) "Not one thousandth of the population escaped. If from now to the day of Judgment nothing hinders the growth of population it cannot reach one tenth of the figure at which it stood before the Mongol conquest".



life towards Northern India, Southern India, and Turkey (3) and only a small portion of these men remained in Iran. Persian literature was affected through the effect of these invasions on the social structure of society.

ULAMAS AND) The Ulama who were participants with the Saljuqs and  
SHAIKHS. )  
Khawrizm Shahs in their respective Governments and had been leading spirits in resistance to Mongols had to fly after the defeat of their overlords. Most of the people, who belonged to this regular institution of Ulama (when Changiz was penetrating into Khawarizm) took shelter under the Sultans of Delhi. The rest who could not find time to reach India through the Multan route went Westward during the attack of Chagatai and his grandson Hulaku, and "poured in to the marches--leading personalities of Saljuq (Seljuq) State, who had fallen into disgrace with the new lord peasants and citizens whom intolerable tradition had driven away, nomads who sought refuge here, fearing the plunder of the herds." (1). They were accompanied by the 'holymen and Shaikhs and Ulamas and dervishes who fled from Iran and Turkistan to Anatolia (2) where the Ghazi movement was still very powerful (4). Those who could not run, had to face the cataclysm. Hulaku's attack was most fierce and terrible. The depth of horror exceeded all normal apprehension (5) Many scholars of repute perished ~~(at)~~ at his hands. Only those were able to save their lives who were ready to help Hulaku in State management. Caliphate fell and with it ended the seeming unity of Muslim Powers. Islam in Iran was now being ruled by a heathen monarch. "The question---before the prominent

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Notes. (3) As a cursory view of the map of Asia and a rough knowledge of trade routes to India would show, the population of Sistan and Transoxiana must have fled to Northern India, that of Central part must have gone further Westwards. The population of Central Iran which depended for its means on earth and others as Shaikhs must have gone to Turkey. The trading class must have gone to Bagdad or Shiraz and thence to Ahwaz.

- (1) Witteck. p. 31. This same author mentions on p. 49 a French rendering of Nasawi's History "Wherein is given an instructive example how nomadic tribes were set in movement by the Mongol invasions".  
(2) Ibid. (4) Ibid. p. 38. (5) Pope. p. 1046 ~~(at)~~ Durrat Shah (under Shah).

theologians was whether a just heathen ruler was preferable to an unjust Caliph, and the answer was in favour of the just heathen (1) though there was nothing to prove that the heathen monarch was the just monarch. The new conception of monarchy touches literature at many points. So far as emotional literature was concerned it saved poets and Insha writers from the danger of losing grounds for emotional reverence to the ruling monarchs. It had another and most dominating influence on the social condition of the people. Loss of property and cultivation (for Iran is primarily an agricultural country) led that defeatist mentality which could find its refuge in introversion (2). for which the way had already been paved during the Saljuq period. To take up the extravert (3) class i.e. the Ulama, they succeeded in re-establishing their political power through the inability of the Mongols to rule alone. The achievement was final, when Uljaitu, Ghazan and Arghun accepted Islam. The 'Shah-i-Din panah' was there for the preservation of their faith. How much religious minded were these monarchs? It is difficult to enumerate. Arghun and Abaqa have been at times singled out for their christian inclinations (4). But they were all powerful therefore (according to the Ulama of that period) they were just and wise. "God vests powers in the hands of the one He desires" (5) and therefore all the campaigns of the Ilkhanis were Jihad (6) and the monarch the Qibla-i-Alam' (7). What a hell it was. The minds of the Ulama had become stagnant and their beliefs in-organic (8) because they became more sincere to their lives

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- Notes. (1) Shushtari (Culture) vol. I. p. 51.  
 (2) Shibli (Shair-ul-Ajam) vol. II. p. 4.  
 (3) These expressions are being used throughout this tract as ordinary words of English language corresponding to the inner and outer aspects of life. I have cautiously avoided their Jungian sense.  
 (4) Pope. p. 1048.  
 (5) Rashid-ud-Din. p. 219 & also Sa'adi (Gulistan) pp. 141, 65 & 57. e.g.

تخت و دولت به کار دانی نیست  
 خلد فرای سلطان را بی جستن  
 جز به تائید آسمان نیست  
 بخون و زهر و آتش نیست  
 بیا که گفت اینک ماه و روزی

- (6) Ibid. p. 82.  
 (7) Ibid. p. 142.  
 (8) Iqbal (Harf) p. 163.



and property than to their search for truth. The rift between knowledge and practice had already taken place during the Ghaznawids and later on under the Saljuqs. Their lives were ignoble, they interpreted all their sins in terms of virtue (1) and thus saved their personalities from disintegration (2). Their luxuriant life was a reaction against the tragic fate of Iran, they were bound to fall in sexual indulgences because it promised them a temporary relief. Drinking was carried on in secret, usually in Kharebat (ruined cities) which had been created by the mongols. There was an orthodox circle that knew this rift. Saadi knew it, so did Rashid-ud-Din Faḍlullah. The great humorist 'Ubaid Zakani knew it and exposed the paradox in his remarkable Kitāb-ul Lata'if. His definitions, there in, are interesting, and sharp edged (3). Ibn-i-Jawzi's Talbis-i-Iblis is an other instance pointing to the same (4).

COURT AND THE ) Through the change of monarchs no change ...  
GRADING OF LITERATURE.)  
took place as to the conception of Kingship. The  
only change that Iran met was a stronger grip and a sense of constant  
instability and insecurity. The element of awe was stressed too much.  
Saadi was ready to analyse the personality of a typical ruler by saying

وفقی لیبلا میں سے اٹھنے والے بزرگ وقت کے دشمنوں سے خلعت و نیز (ک)

because a ruler was a divine being:

پادشاه سابقه ابا باشد      سابقه ما ذوات آشنا باشد

Thus the tradition of devotional reverence and awe was inherited by the subjects of Mongol rulers from Ghazni and Nishapur. The attitude of the subjects towards their rulers remained the same throughout, though its channels of expression~~x~~ changed. The taste of the present rulers was different from that of their predecessors. The two subjects astronomy (including astrology) and History--the legacy of the Saljuq--were stressed

Notes. (1) Juwayni (Jahangusha) contains the following fabricated Hadith

Notes. (1) Juwayni (Jahangusha) contains the following fabricated Hadith  
 More over these people knew if they were able to interpret  
 the Quran in their favour they would not be punished for the  
 sins on the day of judgement. In Saadi (g) p.50 a man who is  
 being persicuted says to the one who punishes him.

(2) Had they taken it otherwise (had they considered these indulgences as anti-islamic) most of them would have been in lunatic asylums (3). He explains a Sheikh as Iblis (Satan), As-Sufi as Muftakhor (free booter), Alhizyan as his khawab o waqya (his dreams and intuitions), Albang as a thing that brings intoxication. Thus he hinted at the insincerity of men. see. pp. 105, 106 & 109 (Berlin ed.) (4) see. 'Abdul Wahid Khan pp. 391, 392 (ref. Tiblis-i-Iblis (Urdu Tr.) p. 31-33.

(5) Again he says:---  
see. also Caliph ALNASIR'S (574-622 A.H.) letter of appointment to  
minister. vide. Hitti. p. 318.



by them. The Irani scholars were ready to follow the footsteps of their rulers. The taste of the monarchs prevailed. Out of the four court employees (Dabir, Munanjjim, Tabib and poet) the first three were allowed to remain at the court. For poetry they had no taste. They preferred Architecture and History to it. Poetry was left alone and now it developed along the lines commonly known as Iraqi school of poetry (1).

LEVELLS OF  
RESPONSE. )

The Khurasani traditions were set aside. "The work with wide appeal" took the place of "the work with only the special appeal" (2). The Sufis, whose chief concern was the public, were the first to welcome this method of poetry. Works with special appeal and a wide range of vocabulary and intricate mechanism of Rhetoric were left behind at the doors of the palace. Poetry got a simple medium. Secretaries and historians kept their relations intact with the monarchs. Court grandeur compelled these people to remain sincere to nobility and scholars. Masnū plus a wider range of Arabic and Maghuli vocabulary became their chief concern. This typical paraphernalia of the so called emotive language and the rhythm and grandeur of court ceremonials accompanied literature (produced at the court). Court chronicles lack the simplicity of either Kitabul Lataif or the Gulistan. But we are not going to condemn these writings for this. The difference between the two is that of familiar and unfamiliar mode of expression (3). But we shall not frown at the court literature for its being unfamiliar, so far as it expresses emotions faithfully. It is the final achievement that matters and not the formal structure (Matbū or Masnū). The end is to be taken into account not the means (4). We should not confuse structure with value.

Notes. (1) For details at this point see. Shihabi (Rawabit) p.88. (2) Richards (Principles) p.212. (3) Shibli (Rumi) p.5 but unfortunately like other oriental writers he too thinks familiar mode as something creditable for its own sake. In fact the theory of value does not include modes of expression. (4) History books we shall keep out of our main discussion, as formerly alluded to (CF chapter II). This we shall do, because of the vertical distribution of all literature into scientific and emotive. History does not lack emotions, but we cannot call it an emotive literature for the simple reason of occasional outbursts of emotions. We should not neglect its factual side. History basically depends on faithful reproduction of actual facts and their scientific inter-pretation.

SUCCESSORS OF) Under the successors of Hulaku the condition of  
HULAKU. )

the country changed to some extent. They made their capital at Tabriz in Azarbyjan (an area with Arabic influences). Several cities in the empire were built. Mosques, Khanqahs and madrasas were rebuilt (2). Scholars and students were given stipends (3). Literature, was in this way kept artificially on a high level. But soon the effects of the constant invasions and later on struggles for the throne under the later rulers brought about that economic depression, the results of which manifested themselves on the literature of Timurid Period.

GENERAL REMARKS) Under the legs of Colossus Iran felt itself weak and humiliated. This consciousness of its fall can easily be discerned at the end of this otherwise glorious period. Its main influence was in the direction of a craze for imitation. In philosophic and sufistic speculations, as already pointed out, no further achievement of any note was made (3). Asharite doctrines had weakened the influence of metaphysical manipulations. Imitation was now the chief factor. All its defects can easily be traced in the system of education of that period which discouraged individual thinking and original approach. Its influences on the theory of style have already been traced. Most of the scientific works belonging to this period, are commentaries. Main stress in curriculum was in the direction of logic. Religion went to the side of Scholasticism. But this logic, this scholasticism was not the production of liberals but was the result of the strenuous efforts of a group of conservatives--who showed their talents only in details and not in fundamentals. They suffered from the prejudice of believing strongly in the intelligence of their predecessors. They in fact never

Notes. (2) Dabihullah Safa (Mihir Vol. 4.) part. I. Bokhara (640 A.H.) Ghazaniaat Tabriz (Ghazan 699-702) Sultanya (Uljaitu 703-716), Madrasa-i-Sayyar Sultani, Madrasa-i-Rashid-ud-Din Samarqand (Ulugh Beg 824 A.H.) Badya at Harat and also see. Rashid-ud-Din.

(3) Dabihullah Safa.

questioned the integrity of the ideas of their fore-fathers (1).  
Language. "Arabic language", which was as Browne rightly remarks "hitherto the chief vehicle of all culture, henceforth became practically the language of the theologians and philosophers only, so that after the close of the 13th century (A.D) we seldom see and come across Arabic works produced in Persia"(2). It was so no doubt, but Arabic influences on Persian literature became, at this period, more crystallized at the hands of court chroniclers than at any other period in the development of Persian language and literature. A change in the curriculum also took place which is worth noticing: "Persian language became current in the primary as well as middle school education. It was taught, as is clear from Jami's Baharistan (preface) immediately after finishing the Quran" (3). Arabic literature did not remain popular at schools. Persian commentaries of Arabic works were preferred to the originals. Gulistan and Bostan became the chief source of attraction to youngsters. When ever the elementary education in Persian language and literature was complete, it was only then that Arabic Maqamat, Sarf and Nahw were studied. Prior to Mongol period there was no room for Persian literature at primary schools, though Persian language had always been the medium of instruction. The long delayed step was at last taken in the direction of popularizing the native tongue. Its Arabacized aspect was mostly due to the inclusion of Maqamat in the regular academic courses, the study of Arabic Sarf, the Arabacized books of Persian under the Seljuqs (4) the interest of writer for Qawafi (for producing grandeur) and to some extent perhaps the native influence (of Tabriz). Mongoli words in Persian language crept in due to the monarchs on the one hand and due to cultural and trade ties of the Persians with China on the other. "There was a gradual but continuous emigration of Muslims from the West during the whole period of Mughal ascendancy. Yun-nan was the Punjab of China. The majority of its inhabitants, from as early as the

Notes. (1) Dhabihullah Safa (Mehr) part. III, vol. 4.

(2) Browne. vol. III, chap. II.

(3) Dhabihullah Safa. (with certain omissions and insertions)

(4) Probably the model for such a prose was Maqamat-i-Hamidi, which had been very popular soon after its compilation.



14th c. (A.D.) were Muslims (1). Many Iranians went from Khurasan and Sughd to China as soldiers, traders and artisans in the Mongol camp (2). Commercial relations with China were established (3). This is the reason why we come across Mongol vocabulary in Persian prose and poetry (5). But the inrush of Tartar influence is marked under the fresh waves of invaders (i.e. Timurids) when another dialect of this same Tartar group (i.e. Turki) got its hold on Iran and gave birth to bilingual (Persian and Turki) writers.

IS MONGOL PERIOD A) It is always dangerous to make generalizations  
 PERIOD OF LITERARY) about a period of literature much of which has  
 DECADENCE? )  
 perished (6). Therefore I will refrain from passing any remark on the amount of Persian literature produced during this period. My sole consideration will be its literary aspect. I will try to answer only this second aspect of decadence. Prof. Browne holds (and he seems to be a zealous upholder of this view) that a period of political decadence necessarily involves the production of good literature (7). His remark is an unscientific generalization, because we find many instances in world literature which go against this assertion. The case is just the opposite. Political

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Notes. (1) Shushtary. vol. I. (Culture) p. 25-26.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Chinese influence is visible even in painting (see Ibid p. 143) but this influence belongs to the Timurid period.

(5) In poetry it is not so frequent except in Pur-i-Bahai-Jami. see. Daulat Shah. p. 119. (Damin ali edition)  
 who says:

(6) After all how many books of Rishid-ud-Din have come down to us, to say the least of other writers only the titles of whose books have come down to us?

(7) Browne. vol. III. chap. v. pp. 207 "Attention has already been called to the curious but indisputable fact that in Persia, at any rate, periods of great turmoil and disorder have generally produced the finest poetry while periods of relative prosperity, when the government, have generally been singularly barren in this respect".

and social decadence is usually followed by literary decadence<sup>(2)</sup>. But we must remember yet another thing. If a social decadence does not involve economic decadence (and there are cases where it does not), no literary decadence takes place. Where there is an economic depression but no literary decadence. We must try to find out its causes in some other direction of the 'superorganic'. How literature saved its position in Iran, the causes have already been enumerated above. But these artificial columns were not able to hold the roof of literature in tact. Fratricidal wars, occasional massacre, frequent famines were bound to influence. Temporary relief to scholars with stipends, and sudden fall in the number of inhabitants of Iran at the hands of Hulaku, which would have under normal conditions, made the life of the people easy, now it had to face constant political, economic and social decentralization in and around the territory of the Ilkhans. At a place where the fields were constantly being plundered by rebels and earthquakes, there could be no hope for peace of mind--an important factor in the production of first rate literature.

SHAIKH SAADI) Strictly speaking both these writers, Shaikh Muslih-ud-Din Abu Muhammad bin Abdullah Musharraf as Saadi (1). (b. 610-15(2)d. 694(3)), and Rashid-ud-Din Fadl Ullah (who fall within the scope of the present work) belong to the Puritan group. They lived in an age of turmoil and tumult. An age which was sharp at both ends, an age where contradictions and contrasts exceed. Curiously enough it was an age where contradictions prolonged without being consciously felt by the performers themselves. These two puritans too, though able to see the cleavage in the minds of their contemporaries never felt that their

'golden mean' too

- Notes. (1) O.C.M. p. 21(-----) India office Lib. cat. and also Sprangers (Gulistān-Intr) p. 4, the India office copy which was copied from Saadi's own script inscribed in 1327 A.D. bears the name ~~الشيخ الفاضل~~ but I have preferred the contemporary evidence of Fowāzi who had exchanged letters with Saadi.
- (2) Rida Zada Shafaq. p. ----- (3) Jalal Huma'i (Saadi-nama). Rashid-ud-Din calls Saadi ~~الفقيه~~ his letter is undated otherwise we might have been able to some of the dates of Saadi's death given by later Tazhirah writers.
- (4) I am not discussing here the contents of the pieces of literature. The valuation aspect has been left out because emotive and scientific literatures have got different standards of valuation. In this respect Browne's remark is correct, only so far as emotive side is concerned, because scientific literature during this period is below the normal level. The sense of the passage from Browne which can cover both types of literature is the only one cited above.



was slave to circumstances to the same degree as it helped their fellow scholars to be hypocritical. But to expect from these orthodox writers as a class to be distinct and separate, would be expecting too much. There is nothing like 'pure group influences' in human affairs. Every individual is a centre of different 'group cultures' and this has led to differences in classifications. Among the contemporary writers 'Allamah Ibn ul Fowati considered Saadi a Sufi (1), while Rashid-ud-Din calls him a Scholastic philosopher (2), Barani tells us of the intentions of Khan-i-Shaheed of establishing a monastery for him in Multan which Saadi declined on the pretext of his old age (3). Hamd Ullah Mustawfi says Saadi was a renowned scholar both in prose and poetry (4). If his later biographers Jami (5) (Nafhat-ul-Uns) and Dawlat Shah (6) (Tarkirah) are to be believed he had experienced intuitions and also had been a fountain head of miracles---a fact not admitted by any of his contemporaries. Jami and Dawlat Shah lived in an age of superstition and miracles, and their anecdotes in their detail involve distortion of historical dates and circumstances to an extent that we are inclined to dismiss them altogether. But we cannot deny the importance of Barani's statement. We think Saadi adopted this sufi way of life in old age. Whether he was a pupil of 'Allamah 'Abdur Rahman Ibn-i-Jawzi (7), no contemporary authority tells us, except his Gulistan which we do not consider at all a work of history. The parallels pointed out by Badi-uz-Zaman(8) in his article in the Saadi Nama, between the teachings of Shaikh Shihab-ud-Din Sohrwardi and Saadi leads us to the conclusion that Saadi followed him at least on five points. But this same author diminishes the importance of his own findings by saying "We are not sure whether he was a follower of the Shaikh in all the details of his teachings."

Notes. (1) O.C.M. (May. 1935) article by Muhammad Iqbal (2) Rashid-ud-Din (Tarkirah) p.212. (3) Barani. p.68. (4). Mustawfi (Tarikh-i-Guzida) p.820 for a English Tr. of this portion see. Brownes Tr. p.35. (5) Jami p.392. (6). Dawlat Shah (Damin Ali ed.) p. 133,134. (7) There were two Ibn-i-Jawzis with the same name one the grandfather, other the grandson. Here the grandson has been discussed. (8) (Saadi Nama) Habib Yaghmai. pp. 80. (Seq).



And as his own writings (Gulistan and Bostan) show he had never been a Sufi in the term as we now know it. His Sufism was mild and healthy because it saved him from the clutches of a morbid seclusion. He was an ambivert in the sense that he did not, like his contemporaries, cut himself off the world outside. He never lost his faith in life. The tranquility of the world around made him, like all other writers, some what gloomy at heart. But his grief did not take him over to the side of denunciation of life. It made him consider life a serious problem, and he tried to solve it in terms of duty, love, contentment and justice. His Christian morality was a combination of mystical and didactic tendencies (1). But we cannot agree with the view that his mystical inclinations are to be answered in the negative. Mysticism was the fashion of the day and like others Saadi too must have passed through it. He was a practical man and his mysticism was of a practical nature.

HISTORICAL VALUE OF ) Sa'adi's Gulistan(prose) and Bostan (verse)  
HIS WORKS. )  
have always been regarded books of practical wisdom with a didactic note. He himself describes the motive of his Gulistan a two fold motive (i) It was code of good manners (ii) described in a language useful both for Scholastic philosophers and Scribes (2). But most unfortunately it has very often been taken to be a work of genuine historical nature, though the authenticity of many of the anecdotes has been questioned by scholars like Hali, Mirza Muhammad Qazwini and Qasim Tawsiqani. Those who treat Gulistan as a source of his biography overlook (or atleast try to overlook) the relation of this book to previous literature of the same dye. When we admit Gulistan as a work of didactic import we should see other didactic books prior to Sa'adi. The other works of (prose and poetry) written before Sa'adi are of two types (i) allegorical (ii) and parabolical. The allegorical works are Kalila Dimma (of Rashid-ud-Din-----not

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Notes. (1) Enc. of Islam., (ref. Etthe's article in Grunders de. Ir. Phil ii, 292)

(2) Sa'adi (G) p. 14.

extant now--of Rudaki and of Ibn-i-Muqafa (arabic), Mantiq-ut-Tair of Attar and other Persian Andarznamas. The parabolical works include Mathnawi of Rumi, the Qabus namah and the Hadiqa of Sanai. These two types rely for their power on the intended argument or precept itself.

PARABLES: In the formation of parables the stories are not taken from history but are culled from the argument itself. They are real (محکم الوقوع) but seldom actual (احتمالی). To support my cause I shall call to the memory of the reader a few verses from the Mathnawi of Rumi.

ای برادر من که در میان است  
معنی آن دوستی من و دانه است  
عزیز من که در میان است  
ببین که او را برادر من  
نکر و نه از پدر من است  
و در دغست تو با غول ساز +  
گفتن تو را زید مرا و تو طلب گفتن چو من کردی چیزی ادب  
گفتن این بهایه من بود گفتن مشایبش از پیما به الت بن

ALLEGORIES: In an allegory the inanimate objects, birds and animals are given tongue and intelligence to guide the man. The didactic works of Pre-Islamic Persian (as pointed out in chapter II) are rich in this aspect of the technique. In some of the Persian andarznamas even bushes give sermons. It is true we can trace back its origin to pre-historic days when men seriously believed in these absurdities and took them to be actual; but these writers of muslim period knew the absurdity only too well and allowed it as an accepted technique, thus using the lie as a means to good. For such stories in the Gulistan see. p. 166 (for Tutī and Zagh), p. 40 (Syah Mosh), p. 43 (Rubah) p. 100 (Rayat and pardah) and Bostan pp. 97, 101, 102, 103, 136, 137 and 144. This tendency towards poetic truths, has been very popular among the muslim Khatibs and muzakkirs. This tendency works through literature all over. The passion plays of the Qajar period and the elegies of Muhtasham Kashi and Muqbil in persian and those <sup>of</sup> Anis in urdu are good examples. In christian literature of the Pre-Elizabethan period one of the religious dramas is

note worthy for its inclusion in the original biblical story the incident of Mak the sheep thief (4). To say the least of Gulistan where all the Sayings are of a doubtful nature (5). Of the other parables (anecdotes), where definite names of persons or places have been mentioned, the events related are, like all parabolical stories, untrue. Harun-ur-Rashid's victory over Egypt and the appointment of a negro Khushib as its governor is a myth. As to the stories where Sa'adi shows himself to be the central figure of certain events, the only historical truth involved is that he had been wandering all through the Islamic countries when the province of Fars was in troubled waters, a fact verified by his own statements in his Kulliyat. The events and stories related in this connection are fabrications made for practical purposes. Visit to the palace of Ighlamash (612-614 A.D.) and his conversation with the sentinal, a date when Sa'adi was not even born--the event at Kashghar and the incident of Somnat (in the Bostan) (3), are not historical facts. Each event is cancelled by its own details which are contradictory. Despite these anachronisms some other stories, (e.g. p. 48 which is unscientific, and p. 79 which is a fallacy based on a shift of meaning) are least reliable. The biographers of Sa'adi have been misled by the use of proper names which is a technique of story telling. Persian literature has got an other example in the form of Maqamat-i-Hamidi, an imitation of Maqamat-i-Hariri (arabic) and Maqamat-i-Badi-uzzaman. Each story opens with the patent expression "I heard in such and such city from such and person or from a friend of mine," copied by Sa'adi as "I heard from -----" and I was at such and such place". His self glorification and selfassertion throughout the

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- Notes. (1) Sa'adi (G) p. 29 for a note on Sarai Ighlamash. see. Ma'arif. vol. 31, No. 2. page.127.  
 (3) Sa'adi. (B) p.180.  
 (4) Evans. p. 79. A history of English Literature.  
 (5) Sher-ul-ajam. vol. II. p.33.



Gulistan and also in the later part of the Bostan (1) (poetry) is a fact the importance of which is least to be minimized. The actuality of the stories can be questioned on the ground that the same incident which is quoted at one place with certain details differs extremely from the details of the same at an other place. Hali while discussing the story of a warrior (given in the Bostan, Chapter viii) (2) says "We should consider Shaikh's expression at such places deficient rather than to blame him for his insincerity" (3). The comparison found out by Hali between this story and the one given in the Kulliyat is interesting and note worthy though the decision, cited above, makes us strongly doubt the sincerity of Hali himself. In order to save Saadi's personality from a moral stigma he has made us believe that Sa'adi had no control over his communicative abilities and that for this he had to give way to distortions, an argument which we are only too arrogantly bound to dismiss as incorrect. Let us compare two of the stories from Bostan (pp. 37, 48) with that of Gulistan (p. 47-65)----. The plot of (37) corresponds with that of (47) just as (48) with that of (65), with the only difference that each time one aspect is stressed in order to bring out one moral statement, and at another time an other aspect of the same, for a different moral aim. In (65) the later part of the anecdote has been cut short for the achievement of the intended result. On p. 65 (Gulistan) the king has been mentioned as ( *Shah* ) while on p. 48 (Bostan) the name of Mamun has been inserted. Thus, we can safely assert, that Sa'adi very frequently coins stories and he modifies them at will only to suit his own purpose.

However, we may suspect Sa'adi truthfulness on ethical grounds, we are the last to doubt his sincerity as an artist. He was an artist and had every right to depend on reality and not on actuality.

SA'ADI AS AN ARTIST.) As pointed out in a previous chapter, two schools had emerged in Arabic and subsequently in Persian(4). These two schools of Matbū<sup>6</sup> and Maṣnū<sup>6</sup>, though based on the basic distinction of the scientific and the emotional, are

Notes. (1) For stories where in he introduces his own character in order to give an air of authenticity to his arguments are pp. 156, 154, 157, 102, 130, 185, 104, 188, 193, 105, 201, 200, 203, 131, 141, 143, 194, & 197. (2) page. 171-72. (3) Hall p. 40. (4) Hall does not seem to be in the know of any such school prior to Sa'adi when he says-----

سج کے زمانے تک اس کی (فارسی نثر کی) کوئی شاہراہ مقرر  
نہیں ہوئی (کلی) - (ص ۹۱)

not, as stated before, essential conditions of a work being either emotional or scientific. The paraphernalia of the Masnu is in many instances the accompaniment of a good emotional piece but there are instances where simple prose rises to that height. Therefore, I think, the question is not in the existence of a certain type of vocabulary but the existence of an actual experience in the mind of the writer. That is why we find many cases of works of Masnu type lacking emotional fervour. Saadi's Gulistan is one such instance. I agree that it has been a popular book among the students of Persian language. It had a wide circulation not only during the author's life time. But the subsequent ages also have witnessed a constant flow of praise and exaggerated respect for both the Shaikh and his work. The popularity of a work of art depends not so much on the worth of the work itself, but on certain other factors of which the propaganda element is dominant. Even if the worth of a work be one of the many factors contributing to the popularity of a work of art, we cannot make it a standard for its valuation as such. Hali's approval of the book is primarily on grounds of general popularity. He praised the book because other people praised it (1), and he likes the author for the lessons that the book imparts on its readers and also for the dogmatic phraseology that recommends for its own use in every day conversation (2). It is unfortunate that Saadi's writings have very often been judged in the scale of his popularity. It is at the hands of such evaluators that a writer usually suffers. The best part of the Shaikh reveals itself in his Ghazaliyyat and Qasaid. But unfortunately in Gulistan (prose) and Bostan (poetry), Saadi is at his worst. He has been praised for his prose and his career as a poet has suffered a lot for the sake of Hafiz. I do not compare here the relative importance of the two because I am against such cannons of criticism, but I feel it necessary to point out here the evil done to Saadi due to the silly notions of the age--the comparisons, the delight of the penny press. We are not going to

Notes. (1) Hali. p. 83. and also Saadinamah pp-----

(2) Ibid. p. 112.

accept the view that Gulistan is the best book on the ground that it has been rarely imitated (1), or that it is one of the very few ethical works of Persian literature. There is nothing creditable about the first point and nothing praise-worthy on the second (not even on ethical grounds). Our objection to it is that it fails to interest a non-ethical reader on any emotional level. The vocabulary is there but the spirit is gone never to return. again. The work lacks that directness in its working upon emotions due to the divided attention of the author himself. His anecdotes have morals but they are not morals (2). Every moral deduction rests (in this book) for its power on the phraseology and not on the anecdote to which it is expected to be the logical as well as the emotional conclusion. The reason is too obvious to cite here in detail. The author seems to have conceived his moral first and then has coined stories to support it, thus splitting his own attention. None of the anecdotes has got the life which is characteristic to Rumi's *mathnawi*. But Gulistan is not totally devoid of emotions because it is practically impossible to ignore emotions altogether. But the streak of emotions, which prevails, is too thin to be considered of any value. The scientific works have this much of emotions because "a perception is never to be compared with a photographic image, some thing of the peculiar and individual quality of the person who perceives is inextricably bound up with it," (3). The difference between an emotional and scientific work is a matter of degree only. But we cannot consider Gulistan a scientific work either, because the author never intended to make it so. He wanted to make of it a book of parabolical stories but he miserably failed in his endeavours. Now we can judge his efforts only in relation to his intentions. The wave of emotions that runs through each anecdote usually derives its life from direct preaching. It is not through the power of story telling of the Shaikh that he achieves his object.

Notes. (1) Hali. p. 94

(2) One of the English critics says: a good short story is a moral but a bad one has a moral.



He strikes on the same harp again and again and in the long run succeeds (to some extent). The second method that he takes in such cases is the tone of a professional preacher. His mind is like all Oriental writers primarily visual and his method unlike his companions, dogmatic and linguistic. He maintains that general level of linguistic perfection, that faithful adherence to external adoptions for which even silly writings have been held in the East worth while. Thus his *fasaht* and *balaghat* are the chief source of interest for a typically oriental student.

The pictures that Saadi gives to the mind are too brisk to be of any considerable value. They are interesting in themselves but usually do not give any solidity to the intended object itself. His dogmatic attitude is too powerful a quality to be left unnoticed. It is here that his personality finds full satisfaction and his fatherly tone its complete dominance. Where ever this element dominates, his anecdotes reach that pitch which is the goal of all great art. But this level is very rare in the *Gulistan* and shows itself only in some short stories. Though Saadi plays upon the emotions of his audience but he never insults them because he is not an aggressive type. He wins over his readers through his sympathetic out look towards them. Thus his vanity makes him a judge over virtue, vice, purity, corruption, good and evil. He uses his emotions when ever they suit these needs. So there was nothing to be furious about anything. A respect for his personality radiates from his readers on to him and it this aspect of his personality that lulls a reader's critical judgement to sleep. In order to give his anecdotes an air of authenticity he frequently uses his own name and that of his contemporaries. But does this trick always succeed: We doubt it.

PROSE WORKS OF) Other prose works attributed to the Shaikh are  
THE SHAIKH. )

the (1) *Khafi-tah*, (2) a tract on *Irfan* (3) a tract on the preachers, (4) five questions of the *Sahib-i-Diwan*, (5) on intellect and love, (6) Three Booklets (on advice to the kings, his visit to Abaq Khan, advice to Ankiano) and (7) on

respect of the Shaikh at royal courts. These last six tracts differ from Gulistan both in style and method to such an extent that we are bound to consider them fabrications. As for the first pamphlet, it has been a subject of great discussions. The Obscene passages (مطابحات و سزلیات) (The major portion of which is in verse and only a small portion in prose, and this prose section again in two languages Persian and Arabic) have been considered, by some authors, of a doubtful nature. They say it was probably written by Shaikh's enemies (1). One Mullah Hamid-ud-Din of Sialkot, the author of Gulshan-i-Iran holds that it was not the work of Sa'adi but was added by Nur Jahan to his Kulliyat. But Mullah's assertion cannot face the bare facts of history. We find this section included (2) in a manuscript copy of Sa'adi's Kulliyat dated 829 A.H., transcribed by the famous Katib 'Ali bin Ahmad bin Abu Bakr (3). It is probable that Sa'adi himself composed this portion. His standards of morality are quite different from our own. His chapter VI of the Gulistan is one such example. Sanai's Karnama-i-Balkh (4) Nizami's chapter on Alexander's marriage, Rumi's tale of the ass and the slave girl are instances that show that there was nothing objectionable about it. The age never objected to it. Khusraw's obscene chapter in his Ijaz-i-Khusrawi Vol. V. is a proof of conservative opinion having a favourable attitude. Even the saintly Jami (9th century writer) could not detain himself from writing verses on the breasts of Zulaikha--the wife of prophet Yusuf. In fact these writers did not have sex obsessions that we moderns have. The compiler of the Encyclopaedia of Islam totally ignored the age-factor when he remarked "The different aspects of Sa'adi's morality make it difficult to believe in his sincerity, the more so as his morality is considerably compromised by the obscenities uttered in some chapters of the Gulistan and in the Khafi-that".

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Notes. (1) Qasim Tawseirkani. p. 82.

(2) Sa'adi (Kulliyat) 4a (MS).

(3) This copy is in the possession of Panjab University Lib, it is profusely illuminated and was probably transcribed for the ruling prince Ibrahim Sultan Mirza.

(4) MS. Punjab University Lib.

What a mischievous interpretation.

IMPORTANCE OF ) Shaikh Saadi's importance lies in the fact  
SAADI: A TRADITION )  
BREAKER. ) that he was the first man, after Bahai Baghdadi,  
who violated the two school conception. His Masnu got its structure  
from the old rules but he never adhered to them rigidly. He broke  
away from its pent up seclusion. His Masnu had got all the note-  
worthy qualities of Matbu, thus showing the absurdity of a rigid  
classification. Though his own composition is not worth the praise  
it has enjoyed, we are ready to accept his claim as a tradition  
braker.

OBSCURANTISM ) Obscurantism the product of a defective  
ANOTHER )  
CHARACTERISTIC ) system of education got its strength from  
OF THE AGE IN WHICH )  
SAADI LIVED. ) the court life of the Ilkhani rulers of Iran  
and that of the Slaves and Khaljis in India. It was not at all a  
new movement but was a typical form of the same Masnu or Mutarasse-  
ilana, which has been a popular literary indulgence of court scribes,  
preachers and maqamat writers of the later Abbasid period.  
Arabic historian 'Utbi used it, probably for the first time, as an  
experiment for court histories. And now it was during the Ilkhanis  
that its extreme cases were generally adopted in court chronicles,  
all  
that we can say for the language is that Wassa'f's game has been  
overdone. His Persian in the long run turned out to be Arabic. His  
imitators who had no such control over their vocabulary of arabic  
language either totally failed, as in the case of Abdur Razzaq of  
Samargand who had to revert to his own style only after writing  
about eighteen pages of his Matla-i-Saadain, or succeeded only to  
ruin the emotional aspect as in the case of the author of Durra-i-  
Nadira. Rieu has rightly



remarked: ("This book) was unfortunately set up on a model that has exercised a painful influence on the later historical compositions in Persia"(1). Among Wassaḡaf's contemporaries (e.g. Āṡa Malik Juwaini, Rashid-ud-Din Faḡḡullah, Ḥamdullah Mustawfi and others) we do not come across so many structural (linguistic) peculiarities that we face in Wassaḡaf-i-Ḥaḡḡart. But why to condemn a writer for his linguistic peculiarities? Why not to judge it (if a work is of history) on scientific reasoning, or (if the work is of non-scientific character) for its emotional solidity and depth?

RASHID-UD-DIN: Rashid-ud-Din seems to be of a different mould than either Wassaḡaf Ḥadrat or Shaikh Saādi though he was undoubtedly influenced by the ethical teachings of the later. Saādi whose reputation as a poet had reached the four corners of the world prior to the writing of Gulistan, like his predecessor Qaḡḡi Ḥamid-ud-Din earned in later centuries his fame through his prose works which had been very popular among the school-boys as well as eminent scholars. Rashid-ud-Din Faḡḡullah was only twelve when Gulistan was written. He seems to have been influenced greatly by the teachings of the Shaikh whose Gulistan and Bostan have very frequently been quoted by him in his letters. The Shaikh had made the teachings of Ghazzali more intelligible and more common place to be adopted and appreciated by later writers. He had left out all that could allow Asharite metaphysical speculators and thus made Asharite teachings more congenial to general taste. Rashid-ud-Din, as his letters show, had read nearly all the eminent writers of Arabic and Persian, to quote a few names he had read Mutanabbi (2) Sanai (3). Zahir Faryabi (4)

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Notes. (1) Browne. vol. III. p.67.

(2) Rashid-ud-Din (letters) p.41.

(3) Ibid. pp. 7, 113, 294, 296, 300.

(4) Ibid. p. 75.

Nizami (1), Kamal Ismail (2), Ghazzali (3), Anwari (4), Rumi (5) and the often quoted Saadi.

Lines from Saadi's Gulistan have not only been quoted in many paragraphs of his letters and its ethical deductions reproduced with slight changes, the author seems to have tried at places to follow the ethical tone and brisk phraseology of the Shaikh, but he does not seem to have followed his contentment ( *قنوت* ) method---which relieve<sup>s</sup> for its effects on a strict control over ones stomach and a certain disregard for worldly allurements. In theory Rashid-ud-Din faced the world with a heavy heart but in practice he seems to have followed Rumi's conception of Tawakkul and tied the knees of the camel of royal favours which Saadi had shunned throughout his life. Saadi had devised practical philosophy while Rashid had led throughout the practical life itself. He died at the hands of his own patron---a fate that Saadi always despised and hated.

THE VALUE OF  
HIS LETTERS.)

The literary value of Rashid-ud-Din's work is beyond doubt not very great. He is a mediocrity raised to perfection, an artist without anything remarkable or even appreciable about him. His letters though rich in artifices and arabic vocabulary, his sentences though interspersed with verses from eminent authors and lines from Traditions, do not constitute of him an author of any importance. He was an imitator and he imitated his models with care and perfection. His careful mimicry at one time makes him a poor prototype of Saadi and at an other time a carboned copy of Bahai Baghdadi. The cruelty and hopelessness of the years of Mongol ascendancy prevailed and we can safely expect from him a remarkable description of it. But he disappoints us in the sense that his description is faithful and accurate but lifeless. He falls short of emotional integrity which can keep an audience spell bound. His chiseled expressions and clear-cut phrases do not give any favourable expression except that of his 'craftmanship'. Like Bahai he tries to unfurl his emotions in adjectives but there again he badly fails. His writings lack emotions though of-course not intelligence. But his intelligence is not a great achievement because he directs it towards imitation to look as originality.

Notes. (1) Ibid. pp. 1,38,98. (2) Ibid. p. 81. (3) Ibid. p. 51.  
(4) Ibid. p. 214. (5) Ibid. p. 293,

This is the form of tradition rejected by T.S. Elliot in the following words. "If the only form of tradition, of handing down", he says, "consisted in following the ways of the immediate generation before us in a blind or timid adherence to its successes tradition should positively be discouraged (4)" In Rashid-ud-Din's case the rejection is twice as good. He is at the most a third rate writer of emotive prose.

### I N D I A.

LITERARY CENTRES: Prior to Mongol invasions and the sack of Baghdad the centres of literary activity in India had been Multan, Delhi, Lakhnawti and Lahore. Khusraw does not mention Lahore (1) a fact proving that till the year 693 A.H. Lahore had lost its literary importance.

LAHORE) "After Jaipal, Lahore begins to figure prominently for the Panjab came to be known as the India province of Lahore under the rule of the Ghaznawid Dynasty. For fully two hundred years till the reduction of Delhi, Benares etc, in A.D. 1194 and the establishment of the Sultanate of Qutbud Din Aibak in A.D. 1206, the Panjab had been fast absorbing muslim influence" (2). Lahore had been "an object of special consideration to Muizz-ud-Din" and "the possession of Delhi did not mean much, for it was neither the capital of India nor the most important muslim town" (3). It was Lahore that welcomed, for the first time, the sovereignty of Qutb-ud-Din after the death of Muizz-ud-Din Sam--as contemporary historians would like to call Muhammad Ghauri. It was actually after supporting the cause of Aram Shah (Qutb-ud-Din's son) that Lahore lost the position it had enjoyed so far. Iltutmish, the 'candidate of Delhi officials' emerged victorious and Delhi became the first capital of an independent Sultanate. Its importance as a literary centre sank gradually. During Mahmud's successors it had become an asylum for poets, scholars and saints. But during Iltutmish's reign when Delhi had become the chief town, there was little charm left for those who aspired for posts through scholarship. Moreover Iltutmish's reign witness mongol invasions every year and the only secure city in the empire was the capital itself.

Notes. (1) Khusraw (Gh) Intr. p. 33. (2) Mohan Singh. (A history of Panjabi Literature) Chapter. III. p. 11. (3) Tripathi pp. 20, 21. (4) T.S. Elliot. (Selected Essays) p. 14.



Mu'izz-ud-Din had himself devastated Lahore in 576 A.H. and threatened its doors again in 582 A.H. (1). It was till 639 A.H. that Lahore witnessed security and peace. But in that year, during the reign of Sultan Mu'izz-ud-Din Bahram Shah (Radiyyia's successor), Mongols routed the city and put the muslims to sword in plenty (2). The city lay in ruins till the reign of Balban who got it rebuilt and habilitated (3). Again Lahore fell in the hands of Mongols in 686 A.H. during Mu'izz-ud-Din Kaiqubad (successor of Balban) (4). That was enough to finish the literary importance of Lahore till the year 693 A.H. when Amir Khusraw gave the list of literary centres in India and omitted Lahore altogether. The Literary traditions of Lahore shifted over to Delhi during the reign of Iltutmish and his successors.

MULTAN: The first literary centre of Musalmans in India has been Multan. From second century of the Hijra onwards, nay even before this, due to Arab navigators Sindh has been under Arab influences. But literary influences in their proper sense date from the days when muslim conquerors filtered through Khurasan and Transoxiana (5). Multan's importance <sup>was</sup> as a trade centre of piece goods. Nearly all trade through the land to India passed through Multan-Qo'itah route. During the Qirmati-dominance its importance for the musalmans decreaded, but after its fall to Mahmud of Ghazna, it again achieved its lost glory. The city of saints became a centre of culture when Chingiz put the Khawarizm Shahi prince to flight Khokhars in the upper regions of India were continually a source of trouble for traders and travellers therefore the refugees and traders from Khurasan and Transoxiana were bound to enter India through Multan where the patron of Literature the powerful Qubachah (602-625 A.H.) had kept the advancing tide of Mongols at bay.

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Notes. (1) Sahrindi. pp. 4,6,7. (2) Ibid. p. 31.  
 (3) Sahrindi's remark (p. 40) is interesting.

(4) Ibid. p.96.

(5) Sharwani (Maqalat-i-Sharwani) p. 201.

His minister 'Ain-ul-Mulk was a great literary figure whose patronage to literature (along with the patronage advanced for the cause of literature by the Sufi circles) made Multan a permanent centre of learning. After Qubachah's fall at the hands of Iltutmish when most of the writers went over to Delhi and took with them the Arabic influences of Multan, this city still kept the torch of literature burning.

DELHI: From the very start Delhi as the metropolis of Albari Turkish Sultanate was popular. The literary activity and cultural heritage that had raised Lahore to the position of an important city now showed itself at Delhi immediately after its taking the position of a capital. We find from the very start, scholars of Indian origin figuring among foreign scholars (Arabs and Persians) at times even excelling them. It needs a long tradition to bring forth native poets like Shihab-i-Muhmirah, Khusraw and Hasan. The influence of Mu'izziyah and Nasiriyyah (schools established by Qutbud-Din at Delhi) could not have been so immediate. The high level of literature must be the crescendo of a huge tide rolling over a large expanse, with a considerable regular speed and for a long duration. Constant flow of scholars from Lahore and Multan must have played its part. Thus Delhi assimilated the best of Transoxiani elements in their Indianized form. From the fall of Qubachah in 625 A.H. up to the birth of Amir Khusraw, Delhi had been fast absorbing the best elements and fine traditions from abroad. Most of the writers from Multan and Lahore shifted over to Delhi. Many Scholars from Iran also came in, thus converting Iltutmish's court into the court of Sanjar and Mahmud (2). Central Asia was being overrun by Chaghezi "Thousands of people were rendered homeless, and they could seek a safe refuge in India only" (1). These new immigrants from central Asia, Iran and Afghanistan speeded up the literary activity already flowing in Delhi.

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Notes. (1) Sattar (The history of Iltutmish) Vis. fol. 174.  
 (2) Barani (Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi) p. 27.

In India, Persian language had confined itself to cities only. It was the spoken language of the ruling minority. (Musalmans were in the ratio of one to six). Most of the people (even in the Panjab) residing in villages were Hindus. The ruling minority confined itself to cities and spoke persian.

PERSIAN THE  
SPOKEN LANGUAGE.)

Persian was the spoken language of conquerors who came through the Khaiber, pass, it was their official language and also a medium of transaction. The Ghaznawi poets of persian like Mas'ud-i-Sad-i-Salman, Abul Faraj Rumi, (born of Persian parents in India) wrote and spoke persian. They might have been acquainted with the native dialect (probably Landhi or Lehndi) but they do not seem to have adopted that as a regular medium. Fresh bands of foreigners too, seem to be little serious about the native tongue. Khusraw's remarks on the situation in India throw enough light on the point.

و اگر زبان پارسی است که از پارسیان رسیده است جز لعل و رشت ماوراءالنهر که موافق است  
به پارسی هندوستن - دیگر هیچ عبارتی را درستی لفظ نیست ... و لفظ درست آن است  
که در کتاب آید و این را آن (فراسانیان را) مثل این کلمات که در لفظ چیزی گویند  
که در کتاب خطا باشد بسیار است .... گفتار فارسی در هندوستان از لعل آب پیوسته  
تا محیط دلتی دریا یک زبان است ... و این پارسی پارسی درسی (۲) است .  
زبان هندوی هر صد فردی هرگز نمی آید دیگر است . اما پارسی درین چهار هزار  
داند فرستگ یکی است و پارسی است که در ادای زبان بافتن کنند  
مواضع (۱) مطابق است (۱)

Notes. (1) Khusraw (Gh) Int. p. 32.

(2) Sharwari (Maqalat) p. 100 translates Dari as خاندان درویشانی  
which is apparently wrong.



Persian was not only the spoken language (3) it was the official language of the empire. Turkish had ceased to exist as a living language in India and even the Turks had become strangers to it (1). There were bilingual (persian and Arabic) writers as well (2). Arabic, due to its sanctity of being the language of the Quran was studied at schools and there were scholars who compiled books and wrote verses in it.

PROSE TRADITIONS ) Due to a free and profuse inter-course between  
BEFORE AMIR KHUSRAW.) the different parts of Afghanistan, Transoxiana, Khorasan and the Panjab, Persian the literary language of the rising Ghaznawids became the language of nobility at Lahore. With the tide of Turkish rule it crossed the Doab and reached Delhi. In India its existence depended on the ruling class, who had accepted it as a language of correspondence and poetry. Indian element had creased in it as early as the days of Mahmud whose poets at Ghazna had accepted Hindwi vocabulary in their Persian compositions. But the Indian element in prose compositions was more profound solid and deeprooted. India gave rise to a separate prose style. Amir Khusrow's description of it, the oldest and the only extant description of its kind, throws dazzling light on a literature which has perished and is long forgotten.

همه را از آب صافی نوشن تراست که پیش ازین اندم جاریه چیران بر دهر بر یک آب سی رفت و هر روزش تر شدن  
جاری دیگر نبرد تا آهون بر جا که تسبیل طافنی که از تاره قلم می چایا نه میرا آب خود مانده است و بنزد امیر خواجه  
نزد رسوا و منوستان که عین آن عبارت است بر فراز قلم جاری است اما روش دیگر نیست بدان کردن دریا و این  
منوستان شد آخر پیدا شده بمقتضی بعضی عادت شیرین مانده آب کبرجلب آب میرانه و ازین جا نشی خجنگان  
مادر الهی و خراسان خفته اند (4)

Notes. (1) Wahid Mirza (Khusraw) p. 160 foot note 2.

(2) (Trilingual) Masud-i-Sa'd-i-Salman (Shaireni; Punjab Men Urdu p. 60, & also (Lubab) Awfi v. II. p. 346); (Bilingual) Jamal-ud-Din-Hanswi b. 580 A.H. (Fyzee. p. 166. I.R.A. Miscellany, I); Amir Khusraw (Trilingual) b. 651 A.H. see Gh. p. 66 & examples can easily be multiplied from Barani (Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi) and Khusraw (Int. to Ghurrahtul Kamal) p. 64.

دایم بحر (سواد اعظم دینی) از شرایع عربی و فارسی جنبه آن اند از ... و آب ... چنان باشد  
و گاه تا شهاب الدین ... تا محمد شجاع الدین و خداوند علی ... این چیست و اگر در حق جواب آورده ام  
عقیده دارم که خداوند شایع عربی و فارسی ضایع اند که از غیب تا به روشن اشراق این و آن مثل غماض

and again on p. 85, 86.

(3) Even dancing girls spoke persian. see. Barani p. 157-16.

(4) Khusraw (Tjaz) vol. I. p. 66.

What were those 'delicious artifices' (مختصرات شیرین) which Khusraw points out in the writings of his Indian born predecessors? Unfortunately he does not supply us the details. The passage suggests that the Indian prose was a specified form of Maṣnū and it remained alive in India along with the Persian Mutarrasilanah-----Maṣnū. So far as the amalgamation of Arabic vocabulary was concerned, it was allowed as a decorative element (1) by Khusraw's predecessors, and the Amir himself allowed it in his own prose compositions for three fold or four fold meaning (2) and used Hindwi words only where necessary (3).

INSHA LITERATURE ) Strictly speaking no document of any literary  
BEFORE AMIR KHUSRAW.) value has come down to us which we may call a specimen of emotive prose before Amir Khusrow. We come across in 'Awfi and Barani certain names of writers who held the posts of court scribes and had been the compilers of Insha books. Majīd-ud-Dawlah-wad-din Sayyid ul Afādil wal Kuttāb (4). Muḥammadal Katib (5). Rukn-ud-Din Hamzah (6) and Taj-ud-Din Dabir seem to be court employees. 'Umda-tul Mulk's Murasalat along with Fath namah-i-Lakhnawti as his master piece (7) and Taj-ud-Din's son Kabir-ud-Din (8) was a bilingual writer who had compiled Fath namahs (history?) should be noted. Among Khusraw's elder contemporaries Shihab-ud-Din Dabir (9) need be mentioned.

MONGOL INVASIONS) Mongol invasions of central Asia had curious effects on the history of India. These invasions made necessary "the maintenance of a large military force" (10). The need was all the more pressing in a country where" the Muslims were surrounded on all sides by infidels (11).

Notes. (1) Khusraw (Ijaz) vol. I. p. 84.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Khusraw (Gh) Int. p. 66

(4) 'Awfi (Lubab). p. 418.

(5) Ibid. p. 420.

(6) Ghani (pre-Mughal) p. 263 (vide ref. Tazkirah-i-Slatin-i-Ghazni).

(7) Barani. p. 169.

(8) Ibid. p. 361.

(9) Wahid Mirza. p. 39.

(10) Sattar fol. 180.

(11) Ashraf. p. 138.

Most of the revenue was spent on this single head. Fresh bands of immigrants, during the reign of Iltutmish must have made the economic condition of the country precarious (one can well imagine). But these refugees were in a way a blessing, for they kept Persian literature in India fresh and alive. Iltutmish was compelled, due to Mongols, to cut himself off from the rest of the Muslim world. "This isolation resulted in the Indianization of Muslim culture"(1). It was complete only so far as the supremacy of Ghazna was concerned. Iltutmish was anxious to keep his relations with the caliphate at Baghdad. He did not appreciate the idea of keeping relations with Balka Khan (at Qifchaq) the Mongol(2) and struck coins in the name of the Caliph at Bagdad(3). From 617 A.H. to the last Caliph Al Mustansir (623-41) he kept himself affiliated to the Caliphate, accepted envoys and sent presents, thus winning the confidence and reverence of the muslim population of India. No wonder if the best of Persian prose during the Sultanate has for its subject matter kings and rulers (4). Fitness to rule, combined with an ability to fight, could bring any man to the throne; Turkish nobility and the Ulama were ready to accept him. Iltutmish's Majlis-i-Chahngani (as Barani calls it (5) for thirty years after the death of Iltutmish were the real rulers of the empire but their rule endangered the newly born muslim empire(6) which was ready to accept Balban as its leader. Balban was one of the forty; his military experience, his administrative ability, and his dramatic appearance at a critical moment made him the ruler. Mongol forces were penetrating in to the heart of the Panjab (651 A.H.). The struggle between the crown and the pears for the possession of real power(7) ended in the dictatorship

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Notes. (1) Warsi (Alaud-Din Khalji) p---5---

(2) Sattar fol. 177.

(3) Ibid foll. 179, 180.

(4) I am referring to, Khusraw's 'Proclamation' for Alaud-Din Khalji and Hasan's prose elegy written at the death of prince Muhammad) which will be discussed at full detail at their proper places.

(5) Barani. p. 23.

(6) Ibid. p. 31.

(7) Tripathi. p. 32.



of Balban "who was eager to place kingship upon a more dignified and impressive footing"(1). Jihad in those days was not a mere war cry (as Habib thinks it to be (2)). It was the pressing need of the occasion. He had no intention to expose Delhi to the fate of Bagdad therefore military aspect was bound to be accentuated and Balban was the first to realize it. The Ghazi movement and also the geographical conditions of the country (3) had prepared the occasion long before the rising to power of the Mongol horde. The extinction of Caliphate at the hands of Hulaku made him more enthusiastic about his cold calculated despotism. Religious tension in state affairs could not be avoided, Hatred between the faithful and the infidels, Muslims and Mongols, Hindus (only those Hindus who lived outside the territories of the muslim monarchs) and Muslims, was bound to influence the outlook of the historians of this period, who eagerly hailed such distinctions. Points of honour were also to be made public in the light of religion. It is not astonishing if 'Alaud Din Khalji's battle with the Raja of Chitore be interpreted in terms of Jihad and not in terms of filling the treasury for the maintenance of army against the Mongols or only a motive of passion (4).

GENERAL REMARKS) (1) Mysticism: We have already remarked that cities were the centres of learning in mediaeval India and the native tongue, the spoken language of villages, which changed at every few miles, was allowed to remain so Rahman's *Sunih Rasik* (5) and Khusraw's verses (6) seem to be exceptions rather than any serious attempt at placing dialects on equal footing with the language of the learned. The conquerors had replaced Brahmanic population of cities and the population in villages was

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Notes. (1) Ibid. p. 34. (2) Habib (Khusraw) p. 107.

(3) Ibn-i-Hasan (Central Structure) p. 35.

(4) Bashir-ud-Din (Farman-i-Salatīn) has an interesting Farman from 'Alaud-Din to the Raja of Chitore and his reply to the monarch on pp. 39, 40, throws light (if it is not a fabrication) on the personal element involved in 'Alaud-Din's fight against Rai Ratan Sain.

(5) Jagan Nath's article in O.C.M.

(6) See. Khusraw's remarks in his *Ghurahtul Kamal*, Introduction.

left un-molested. This allowed, Indian element was too quick to influence the language of the conquerors, who unlike the Brahmans did not believe in a secluded life. Nobles began adopting Indian nicknames. In villages conversions over to Islam took place only through the Sufis, thus as early as the successors of Mahmud, Mysticism was gaining ground among the population. This influence, till the end of the period under discussion, made rulers at times fearful. Nizam-ud-Din Awliya's influence is one such example. A devotion of Murid to the Pir was the ideal devotion that a monarch could wish to achieve for himself. That is why the monarches usually made a common cause with the religious class, and at times, realizing their plight, though upon introducing new faiths.

(ii) KINGSHIP: The claim of Iranian monarchs to divine origin seems at the first sight un-islamic rather anti Islamic but when we go deep in to the conception of muslim monarchs from the Ghaznawids onwards "we find the virtue of divinity associated with the office of the Sultanate rather than with the person of the Sultan", Thus a sultan in the capacity of a ruler possessed superhuman powers; the shadow of God, the divine incarnation. He was not interfered so long as he performed his duties faithfully and efficiently and showed an outward respect for the Shariat, unscrupulous he may be to the extreme in his private life (1). His word was the law and he gave it legal shape through his regular institution of the Ulama which was nearly always ready to come to terms with the man in power. There was a small group of sufis who at times came into grip with monarchs but they were never successful. Legally a king shared his power with the people though in practice almost every ruler tried to make himself strong through puppets. Albari rulers right from Iltutmish relied on Turkish slaves, Balban welcomed the high-born (especially the Sayyids who had left Iran due to Mongol invasions),

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Notes. (1) Ashraf. p. 135.



Ala-ud-Din tried to keep himself in office through Indian nobility; thus every ruler had the power to make or unmake a class for himself only if he was a strong military leader and an efficient administrator. The Turkish nobility, Indian nobles, the Ulama, the Sayyids and the Afghans were the parties that struggled for power throughout; each monarch tried to set the scale either on one direction or the other, when ever he had guts to do or undo. When life becomes a game of violent emotions people become adventurous, still more so, because their fortune hung with the will of the monarch. Every son had to start his life afresh. "Aristocratic life decorated by ideal forms, gilded by chivalrous romanticism, a world designed in the fantastic gear of the Round Table"-----this is the picture drawn by Huizinga of Middle Ages in France and Natherlands and the condition in India at that time was not quite different. "All noble life was in its essential manifestations", so says he, "full of such beauty tainted by sin. Kingly exercises and courteous fashions with their worship of bodily strength; honours and dignities with their vanity and their pomp, and especially love-----what were they but pride, envy, a-v-arice and lust, all condemned by religion. To be admitted as elements of higher culture, all these things had to be ennobled and raised to the rank of virtues". Crusades had flung France into nervous tention. India too was passing through the same stage. Turkish superstitions were gaining ground. The popularity of Astrology during the reign of Ala-ud Din, among both the Hindus and Muslims, is an instance(1). The theatrical display of sorrow is an other instance throwing enough light on the over strung sensibility of the age. The Caliphate was diwindling, the Mongols were ravaging through Asia and the only hope left for India was in the person of the monarch.

(iii) EXAGGERATION: As a result of mysticism the conception of kingship, <sup>and</sup> violent tenor of life the already existing elements of exaggeration were perpatuated (2). At times this exceeded all normal limits and

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Notes.(1) Barani. p. 363 & 364.

(2) (it includes all varieties of hyperbole, Ighraq, Mubalghah, and Ghaluww).



and stooped down to distortion of facts. It also showed itself in fantasies and day-dreaming. 'poetic truth's thought images, fallacies, and manipulations) or to be more accurate poetic lies were raised to the position of Art. Every situation was depicted in sharp colours. The age knew only extremes. Amir Khusraw was <sup>the</sup> also child of his age and we find in his prose and poetry most of the traits that have been enumerated above.

KHUSRAW'S ) We do not get a detailed account of Khusraw's  
PERSONALITY.)  
early life except the scanty information collected from his own writings. But it is enough for our present purpose because it gives a fair insight into the mind of Khusraw. He even at an age of thirty two was of a weak constitution (1). Thus we can easily imagine that he must have met, from his parents, with undue care, a fact supported by his own description of his early childhood in his Introduction to Tuhfa-tus-Sighar (2). He was petted and encouraged from all sides thus his life became involved in the struggle to hold the tenderness of others by fair means or foul. Thus the pattern of his psychic activity was fixed. He was the second son and it shows, he might have made endeavours to excell his elder brother Izz-ud-Din Ali Shah (3). He, being shrewed and intelligent, became the model child through his powers over poetry and scholarship. He was born with a golden spoon in his mouth. After his father's death he at the age of 8 went under the care of his maternal grandfather, whose encouragement and love of the child became incentive to his career as a professional poet. His grandfather too died. For life after a short period of two years, he

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Notes. (1) Wahid Mirza (The life and works of Amir Khusraw) p.61.

(2) Khusraw (Tohfah-tus-Sighar) Introduction and also (Maqalat) Sharwani

(3) Wahid Mirza p. 17.

passing phase, just as the death of his father and later on of his grandfather seem to have touched his heart with a will.

Notes. (1) Khusraw (Tohfah) Introduction and also Wahid Mirza p. 32.

(2) Wahid Mirza. p. 35.

(3) Khusraw (Ga) Introduction.

Uptil now the poet had understood the art of attracting people through his glaring triumphs in the field of poesy. He had been praised by the scholars of repute even when his father was alive. His capacities met no hinderence at his grand father's house. 'He passed his life among luxury and ease'. "When the scholars and Savants of the time saw my proficiency in poetry", so he says in his Tuhfa-tus-Sighr (1), "they were amazed and their amazement added to my pride, for on listening to my verses they used to encourage me heartily". Thus the burning eloquence of his tongue won for him reputation. His self praise and self adoration, and his attempt at dazzling other peoples eyes through wit are his characteristics. He tried to be original, in order to get applause at every turn. Love of praise and love of money were perhaps the chief sources of inspiration for him. This is proved by the fact that his finest contributions to Literature are those which have been written for the sake of generous rulers even though they be unworthy. Thus says the well-known biographer of Khusraw, "He was a courtier just as he was born a poet and he continued playing the double role almost up to the very last moments of his life(2)!" He was an adventurer and never stored the money that he got from his patrons (3) because he was sure of his poetic career which shifted from one monarch to the other; he had become the part of the royal household. To save his own skin was his first concern. He had joined, immediately after his grandfather's death, the service of Kishli Khan (Jhuiju or Chajju) who had excelled other nobles in his generosity, but the poet had to fly for life after a short period of two years. He took up his service with Muhammad, the eldest son of Balban, and went to Multan in 630 A.H. He remained there till Muhammad's death in 633 A.H. To him the captivity at the hands of Mongols was a passing phase, just as the death of his father and later on of his grandfather seem to have touched his heart only for a while.

Notes. (1) Khusraw (Tohfah) Introduction and also Wahid Mirza p. 32.

(2) Wahid Mirza. p. 35.

(3) Khusraw (Gh) Introduction.

The intensity of grief when ever it came to him was like all petted children powerful no doubt, but it never left him disgusted or even fed up of life. Maney was the chief problem in that period and he was the first to welcome the idea. "Every mood of graceful sentiment"(1) was available to him at the sight of glittering gold. He kept himself away from all court intrigues and when ever it dethroned his first patron, he was too eager to spend his praise lavishly on the champion of the victorious party. Kaiqubad came to the throne in 685 A.H. Khusraw joined his service some time later and attended the monarch with all eagerness. "Pleasure hunters, roisterers, joy seekers, buffoons and fools, who had been hushed and had been in ignorancy, idle and unempoloyed found ample work now". Khursaw proves himself equal to the occasion; he wrote poem after poem and his Ijaz-i-Khusrawi in its last volume contains obscene passages written, most probably, for enjoyment of his colleagues, at a time when he had already (in 671 A.H.) become the disciple of Nizam-ud-Din Awliya (2). ~~Fixax~~ Khaljis came to power in 689 A.H. and "the inhabitants of Delhi had shown openly their contempt for the Khaljis". Khursaw's fondness for the court led him to royal parties with charming gestures of Nusrat Bibi and Mehr Afruz. Alaud-Din put to death his uncle ~~Raxax~~ in a brutish manner and Khusraw's conception of a just monarch turned its face from a dead monarch to the living one. He was the first to offer his hand. He wrote his excellent Khutbah (695 A.H.)(3). one of the best prose pieces of this age, rich in emotional fire. Never was a court proclamation so full of deep and persistent emotion and never was Khusraw at such a high level in his prose compositions, which are, with the exception of a few pieces, dull and monotonous to the extreme. Gold was our poets weakness; it was a conditioned reflex for him---

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Notes. (1) Dharam Pal (Islamic culture) July, 1945.

(2) Khusraw (Ijaz. vol. v) p. 113, bearing the date 686 A.H.

(3) Khusraw (Ijaz) vol. iv. pp. 106-119.



thought of a reward.

KHUSRAW'S PROSE)  
COMPOSITIONS. )

Besides the prose introductions to his verse compilations, the Amir is the author of the voluminous Ijaz-i-Khusrawi and the malfuzat of Nizam-ud-Din Awliya (under the title Afdal-ul-Fawa'id). The tale of four Darwishes had also been fathered upon the Amir, but as internal evidences would show, the book was written during the Mughul period (1). An other book has been attributed to Amir Khusraw it has variously been named, as Insha-i-Amir Khusraw, Namah-i-Khayal, 'Unwan namah-i-Khayalat, 'Ajib-o-Gharib-namah or Nuskhab-i-Khayalat-i-Khusraw. But as proved through internal evidences by Abdul Qadir, it, is not by the Amir(2).

KHUSRAW'S )  
PROSE STYLE.)

Habib, says "poetry was Amir Khusraw's mother tongue" and "prose he wrote with difficulty and effort and he would have been well advised to leave that region of literature to more pedestrian intellect"(3) and at another place he says, "Prose is the natural speech of man for ordinary occasions, but Amir Khusraw's ideas seem to have come to him in a versified form. So while his poetry has all the beauties of excellent prose, his prose has all the artificiality of a very bad poetry; it is jejune, insipid, tasteless and wearisome---He tries to surprise his readers by a new trick at every turn, attacks him with words, the meaning of which he is not likely to know or offers him metaphors and similies calculated to shock and disgust"(4). The situation is not so disappointing as it appeared to Habib. It is true that the Amir wanted to over-awe his audience through his eloquence and took up a scheme of three-fold and four-fold meaning, but to condemn it on the ground that his ideas came to him in a versified form is too sweeping a statement to be accepted without reason.

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- Notes. (1) Wahid Mirza. p. 150. also see. Shairani (Maqalat)pp----  
(2) Abdul Qadir (Bombay L.cat.) p. 33 & O.C.M. May 1927.  
p.62-63. and also Wahid Mirza pp. 150-51. where in he tells us that it was actually written by one 'Abdul Baqi Munshi of Aminabad (Deccan) in the reign of Shah Jahan, and comprises letters dictated by his master Mirza Ibrahim Beg.  
(3) Habib. p. 95.  
(4) Habib. p. 96-97.

In those ages Masnu was the not so unnatural way of expression as we are prone to think at present. A writer met with little difficulty in expressing his ideas in the Musajja though it was a bit difficult to become a Khusraw or a Wassaf. If Khusraws own remark in his Ghurratul-Kamal is to be believed, the ornate was his spoken language as well (1). So Afdal-ul-Fawa'id should be taken to be the spoken language of the Saint Nizam-ud-Din and not that of Khusraw who was only a reporter. Other people used Arabic words for 'decoration' and Khusraw used them for creating Iham and Khayal, his favourite indulgences. In poetry he usually did not exceed proper limits due to his care for Sayaq-i-Sakhun bar nasaq-i-Sho'ara, though at times he indulged in it for the display of his own inventions (Wasilush Shafatain, Ishtiqaq and Ihamo<sup>3</sup>Khyal). In prose it was not only allowed but was preferred. So Khusraw had more opportunities to show his Iham and Khayal along with Nisbat (associationism) and Angekht in his prose. His liking for Sana' manawi set him upon his tours de force. Iham, Khayal and Angekht determined his way of thought. It was nisbat (associationism) that created troubles for him, it was this mother of all evils that baffles a modern reader. Combined with Iham and Khayal, Khusraw gave to literature that peculiar tendency of hair-splitting (Dhuni) which is "the chief quality of Kali Das in Sanskrit Literature"(2) Khusraw was out right an Indian and gave Persian literature the much disputed Indian element. He had to labour hard for it, but he was ready to busy himself with it, if he could get applause from the intelligentsia.

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Notes. (1) Khusraw (Gh) Int. p. 38. for an Urdu Tr. see. Sharwani (Maqalat) p. 100.

(2) Shushtri (Numaish-i-Vikram Arusi = Persian Tr. of Kalidasa's Sanskrit version) Introduction. p. 11.

With Khusraw Dhuni became a dhuni (1) it was synonymous with Iham, Khayal, Angekht and Nisbat (all these combined in the single heading-نورانی خیالی because Khayal was the vital thing in all these). He is at a loss while writing Anthalah and Ahkam, because there in, his mind is not free enough to create Nisbat, it distorts the sense. It requires a great skill to be successful at both the Nisbat and the Angekht (in official documents) (2). It is this awareness of his difficulty at documents that has destroyed the whole charm of his letters and mandates. It splits his attention, he is both subjective and objective while writing. His mind swoops into the mechanism of Angekht and Nisbat on the one hand, with eyes fixed at what he is about. Thus two parallel processes run together, the one distorting the other. Iham and Khayal were his ways of thinking while Angekht and Nisbat were the formal element, unnecessary, almost decorative. Most of his writings suffer from a loss of emotions because he usually leaves out the main thread and falls into tricks and word-plays. The formal element has been kept in the background only in three or four passages in the whole of his abstruse Ijaz-i-Khusrawi. His introduction to the fourth volume (3). Farman of 'Alaud-Din Khalji (4), Arđ-dasht of Badr Hajib (5), and the praise of a flower (6), are the only pieces which are characterised by fluent sweetness and gracious charm. 'Ala-ud-Din's farman is heavy and full of life and vigour. Arđdash, he himself thinks to be in quite a different style, which in fact it is not; the only difference between his Arđdash and other pieces is the ease and flow of ideas despite the same set mechanism of Angekht and Nisbat. Khusraw's praise of a flower relies for its life on the holiday mood of a scholar.

Notes. (1) Khusraw (Ijaz vol. iv) p. 24. (نورانی خیالی).

(2) Ibid.

(در احاطه ۱۲ اشعار) زیور و نسبت نیز میدان نمی باید است - زیرا که از در مشتاقی و معانی بلند بازمانده. آنرا اندک نسبت و انگیخت پرده نگاه دارد و قدرت طبع بکمال باید معجزه نماید و شش پرده صنعت بغایت بشوار بود و لطافت تکلف بدل نموده.

(3) Ibid. p. 10-24.

(4) Khusraw. (Ijaz) vol. iv. pp. 106-119.

(5) Ibid. pp. 145-154.

(6) Ibid. p. 335.



There are fantasies creating fictional form as a model for real activity. And what is this day dreaming after all ?---an easy way of replacing reality by fiction for the sake of self-glorification. Khusraw's introduction to the 4th volume of his *Ijaz* is something more than mere manipulation. It is the combination of fiction and reality. Scientific ideas have been expressed with full emotional satisfaction. He has discussed out all the details of *Iham* and *Khayal* in it, but no where has his matter-of-fact sort of discussion fallen a trash. Such excellent pieces are four in number--this number is nothing as compared to the mass of other prose pieces of the same author falling short of the intended object. The achievement is very meagre.

HAZLIYYAT) His *Hazliyyat* are a mass of third-rate accomplishment. There are sparks of intelligence but they refuse to burn in a steady flame. The only good piece is "the Lamentation of a eunich", who feels shocked at the idea of people satisfying their sexual desires through unnatural ways (mating with women), to the negligence of the natural ones (co-habiting with eunuchs). Thus Khusraw parades absurdities in order to satirise the age in which he lived.

HASAN'S PROSE) Khusraw's friend and fellow poet Hasan is the  
ELEGY. ) author of a piece of Literature which is unique in its emotional pitch. The prose elegy(1) on the death of his patron Prince Muhammad is both remarkable and unparalled in the whole range of Persian prose in its deep emotional note and its lulling effect on the mind. This hypnotic effect of language is a rare achievement even in poetry to say the least of prose where the absence of metre diminishes possibilities of a high-tened language. His elegy makes one unified impression on the mind. There are no two-fold or three-fold meaning, even the cadence is not very regular; rhyme follows rhyme in slow succession and the irregular rhythm creeps and crawls with slow but unfailing resonance. So familiar in diction and yet so uncommon in its working upon emotions is the *Magnú* that one is wonder struck how the agony of a loving soul has been transferred from the writer on to the reader in its entirety.

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Notes. (1) It has been reproduced in full in *Sihriindi* pp. 44 sqq. and also Badauni and Ghani (pre Mughal).

## Chapter VI.

### TURN OF THE TIDE .

(The period of Economic decentralization)  
(725 A.<sup>H</sup>D. to 963 A.H.)

Turn in the Tide.

One of the many social factors and conditions contributing to the life of a culture is the economic element. In Islamic culture its importance on literature can well be gauged in the after-effects of the Mongol catastrophe. It affected literature in many directions. The drifting shadows of Economic depression soon followed and both India and Iran were sickened and benumbed by it. Its results on Iran were direct but on India they were indirect, though the intensity of both types of influences was beyond doubt very great. It shattered to pieces the whole social structure of society and affected not only the general output of literature but also it resulted in bringing down the general ~~xxx~~ level of Literature. Persian literature produced in India and Iran during this period lacks that vitality which is inherent in great art. It is not great literature as a Walter Pater would like to call it. Iran had some white spots in these dark days, but in India all scholars were imitators and they indulged in mimicry. Their emotional writings are the product of accents abounding in blind imitation, cheap phraseology, weak convictions, superstitions and sophistry.

GENERAL REMARKS) Even in the most enlightened periods of the regime of Muhammad Tughluq, Firoz Tughluq, Sikander Lodhi and Humayun in Upper India, Shah Rukh, Husain Baiqra in Iran and that of Yusuf Adil-Shah (895 A.H.) (Bijapur) and Firuz (Bahmani) in the Deccan, the superstitious elements produced under the influence of the Turks were not only perpetuated but were intensified. The intelligentsia started believing more and more in super human powers of Saints and Sufis, they had special liking for Astrology. Mongol invasions led to the rise of strong Khanqahs and it also led to the intensification of the superstitious element, the inherent quality of the nomad Mongols, who (if Dawlat Shah is to be believed) thought the taking of bath early in the morning a bad omen (1).

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Notes. (1) Dawlat Shah (Damin Ali ed.) p. 98.



and put to sword who-so-ever comitted this crime. This element shows its head in the reverence of the people to Sufis and their attributing Karamat not only to their contemporaries but also to the scholars of old. Thus the recorded events about the lives of Saadi and Khusraw in Daulat Shah and Jami, involving chronological discrepancies are a clear proof of their being unauthentic (1). In India the element was strengthened by the Hindu traditions of old, which have got a mysterious touch of 'other-worldliness' about them. Along with the supernatural acts attributed to Sufis, kings too were supposed to possess the same Powers and the personalities of Sikander Lodhi and Humayun are examples (2).

Constant famines both in India and Iran intensified this element and manifested itself in the beliefs of the people also. The expectation of a Mahdi, (3) a world-deliverer---is one instance. The sense of inferiority had given birth in the writing of this period, to world renunciation on one side, and to expect divine help in the shape of a world deliverer on the other.

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- Notes. (1) Discrepancies arising out of the details given by Dawlat Shah about Saadi have been mentioned in Chap. iv, for Khusraw; see. Jami (Nafhat-ul-Uns) pp. 397, 98.
- (2) For Sikander Lodhi. see. Ahmad Yadgar (Tarikh-i-Shahi) Bibliotheca Indica Series; Dream of Sikandar's mother, Sikandar's knowledge of the unknown, his control over the Jinns see. pp. 29 sqq; and again p. 50 to 58 for Ahmad Yadgar believing in superstitions. For Humayun's superstitions see. Khwand Mir's Qanun-i-Humayuni (English Tr. by Baini Prashad) the institution of the four departments of fire (war department) Air (Kitchen and transport department, water (wine and canals department) and earth (agriculture and building department) (p. 35), the importance of digit twelve (p. 32) innovations of the king pp. 69 to 86, and his arrow classifications of Sa'adat, Daulat and Murad (pp. 25, 26.) The height of superstitions was achieved by wearing clothes each day corresponding to the colour of the planet of that day (see. Ibid. p. 51 sqq) Such instances prevent away mongol rulers are to found in histories Ata Malik Jowainiq while discussing Changiz's reign mentions one instance where the animals took their Faryad before the Qasn. Nathafah p. 67.
- (3) The tendency crystallized under Sher Shah Suri in Mahdawi movement. see Ikran (chashmah-i-Kawthar p. 361) Mahdwi movement started from Badakhshan. For details Blochmann's edition of Ain-i-Akbari. Int. p. iii. sqq. The persecutions of the leaders of movement lasted far into Akbar's reign. and also Ashraf p. 114. The incident of Sidi Maula see. Ishwari Pershad (Mudawana) p. 232-233.

This idea had been the cause of great trouble to the rulers of Delhi, because any man could easily make himself strong at any moment and the rulers were too eager to avoid it by trying to have a control over the sufi circles who had started sharing the prestige of the Kings (1). The shattered emotions of the people tried to find their way in literature as well. But productions of any hysteric age cannot be called a first rate undertaking. Economic decentralization had given way to social, political and intellectual decadence; the peaceful reigns of three or four rulers during this period was not enough to set the level very high.

In their emotive prose the element of dullness is all the more visible. The establishment of schools in Iran and India and the dependence of scholars for their livelihood on the profession of teaching, led to school master's style---a prose clear and precise but lifeless and drab to the extreme. The mathematical compositions of the later Ilkhani period (in Iran) and Sultanate (in India), in the form of chronogrammatic compositions and Mu'ammah (2) led to a peculiar element of mental tricks and jugglery of words to the exclusion of emotions.

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Notes. (1) INDIA. Ala-ud-Din Khalji respected Shaikh Nizam-ud-Din Awliya (see Ikram. ch.) p. 291. Tughluq Shah was not on very good terms with the Shaikh (see. Wahid Mirza p. 131.32). Muhammad Tughluq tried to crush the Sufi circles at Delhi and killed many a saint, drove others to far off territories. see. Ikram p. 296-297 and also Ibn-i-Battutah vol. II. chap. 5 Section 23 pp. 137 to 147 (Urdu Tr. )

IRAN: For special endowments to Sufis on certain conditions; see. Rashid-ud-Din (letters) no. 45. (p.265). During the Ilkhani period Khanqahs were rehabilitated. The Kings themselves used to make appointments for Waliship to these Khanqahs. See, Zamchi (Ms) fol. 47 a, and their accounts were regularly checked by a Daroghas. see Zamchi (Ms) foll 21a. and 23 b. even before the Ilkhanis, the danger had been felt by the Atabeks of Fars. Hali (Hayat-i-Sa'adi) p.43 says:

ایں علم کے مرجع خلافت بنے سے ابو بکر سیدنا خائف رہتا تھا

In order to make themselves popular these monarchs used to spare some people from the payment of Zakat. See. Zamchi foll. 23 b. 42 a, 43 b, 46 a.

(2) Infa.

It was taken too far by the system of education which relied in blind imitation and timid adherence to the successes of predecessors-----thus it gave rise to ready made attitudes in literature. Muslim population in these two countries had indulged itself in Mantiq, Sharf and Nahw, . This too strengthened the already emerging shadows of distress and misery. Never was a literary period so hopeless in its achievements as the present one.

### I R A N.

From 682 A.H. down to 963 A.H. a period roughly covering the period of Mongol ascendancy in Iran (successors of Abaqa), Timur's successors (771 A.H.-906 A.H.) and the first two Safawi rulers, (907 A.H-984 A.H.) is a period of political unrest and economic disaster. Nobles rebelled against their rulers, kings indulged in their contests for power and princes waged fratricidal wars against each other. Peace ensued only in slices and those too very small and uneven. Iranian intellectual life lived on a very slippery ground. The Mongol disaster (especially that of Hulaku) had destroyed the population of Iran to a great extent. Old nobility tried to hold its own through submission and co-operation and gained at least some points under Shah rukh, but on the whole the period for Persian Insha literature is very disappointing. A new nobility was emerging fast. Everywhere in the eastern countries the danger of the rising power was being fully apprehended. Mahmud Gawan had objected to his patron's idea of disbursing money to menials and had to lose his life in return (1). Dawlat Shah vented his spleen at weaver's sons who had taken hold of the Mustaufiship through the length and breadth of Baiqra's empire (2). He reminded his ruler of the danger of such a step; "It could bring about his fall"; he told him. The Kings on their part feared the Khanqahs and tried to have a control over these through bribery and black mailing (the only way of post-poning the arrival of a Mahdi).

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Notes. (1) Sherwani p. 17.( on the authority of Sakhawī).

(2) Dawlat Shah (Damin 'Alī Ed.) p. 116,117,118.



GENERAL )  
REMARKS.)

Life had become a problem and scholars had to earn their living either through appointments as teachers to the every multiplying madrasas of the kings or as scribes and secretaries at royal courts or else through ordinary professions. That is why we find men of letters finding their way to the courts either through secretaryship or teacher's post. The reign of Husain Baiqra is famous for Insha manuals. As for the rest of the population there were professions---i.e. there were scholars who earned their living through trade (2). The nobility never liked their coming to the court but they could not check them, if there was a ruler like Husain Baiqra and a minister like Ali-Sher. Poetry suffered at the hands of all the three groups of writers. Ibn-i-Khaldun tells<sup>us</sup> that the aristocracy had started considering poetry a mean occupation (3). (But Timuri princes were of a different view). It was an age of imitation Amir Khusraw's poetry was imitated along with other Masnu poets (of Iran). In prose the styles of previous masters were copied diligently. Generally speaking, the age in its achievement became very artificial, almost lifeless. The productions were bound to be superficial when the system of education encouraged the element of imitation.

Notes. (2) See. Tuhfah-i-Sami. p. 133 (نقاشی); p. 142 (علاقہ بندی) p.82.

(کتاب نویسی)	p.82	(پوشش دوزی)	p.82	(نکسہ بندی)	p.143
(صراحت)	p.143	(حکایت داری)	p.143	(تاج دوزی)	p.143
(سطری)	p.143	(طیاقچی)	p.144	(تکثیر دوزی)	p.145
(نقاشی)	p.146	(کتاب نویسی)	p.147	(تجارت)	p.148
(نقاشی)	p.148	(مشکاف دوزی)	p.149	(نقاشی)	p.149
(حاکمی)	p.149	(کفش دوزی)	p.150	(آپسن گری)	

All these artisans were poets. To add a few more examples from Ali Sher Nawai's Majalis-un-Nafais Maulana Mui (کلیہ دوز) p.23; Hawai (نقاشی); Sad Mashadi (کاسہ) p. 43. Shami (طیب) p. 62, Baqi. (سی نگر) p. 68; Said Fughani (پوشش بندی) p. 80. Yari. (نقاشی) p. 120; Haji Muhammad. (نقاشی) p. 154. Hamdani (کاسہ نگر) p. 79; Mulla Maqsd (پیر) p. 156.

(3) Ibn-i-Khaldun. vol. III. p. 210.

The number of Khanqahs increased during the Timurids (1). People flocked to these for peace of mind. The sufi practices became intricate and reverence to sufis more profound. Complexity gave rise to cults. Those who could not denounce reality either became Majnus or half-mad Sufis (a fairly long list of insane poets can be prepared from 'Ali Sher's Majalisun Nafais) or courtiers.

There was a certain art in every walk of life. Mystic path is an example. An elaborate scheme of Ibadat was there to ennoble the profession. Even the simple method of Baiat had its detailed code for performance (2). Court ceremonials decorated mystic path as well. This intricacy manifested itself in the way of thinking of scholars and poets who preferred Sanai to the denunciation of the simple. Chronogrammatic activity of the Mongol period took the regular shape of Mu'ammah. There were persons who earned fame through this art (3) and compiled books on this subject (4). Through the popularity of Khamsahs, Khusraw's scheme of rhetoric along with his love for Tarikh-Goi; Nizami of Ganjah's, Mani-i-Barik (منی باریک) Majir Bailqani's Radul-Ajzilas Sadr, 'Abdul Wasi-Jabali's Ashar-i-Mushkila, Badr-ud-Din Jajami's Sanat-i-Hadhf-i-Nuqat and Katibi's Mani-i-Gharibah led persian poetry to a very dangerous field. Maqamat-i-Hariri and Maqamat-i-Hamidi popularized Chistan, Bi Nuqt (بی نقط) and (بیاعت استهلال) in prose compositions, especially in Insha books.

Notes. (1) Dhabih Ullah Sufa (Mehr vol. iv) part. 4.

(2) See. Dhabih Ullah. section 7. on-----and-----

(3) 'Ali Sher p. 35. (میر عیاد حسینی); p. 34 (مولانا محمد معنی بی); p. 26. (مولانا فیضی میرزا عبدالمجید مستطیع); p. 44. (مولانا میرزا عزیز); p. 45.

(مولانا محمد آملی)	p. 46	(مولانا نازک فاطمہ)	p. 46	(مولانا محمد علی محمد علی)
(مولانا آصفی)	p. 65	(مولانا خلف میر میری)	p. 66	(مولانا محمد علی محمد علی)
(مولانا شمس الدین معنی بی)	p. 69	(مولانا شرفیاب معانی)	p. 70	
(علی القفا)	p. 112	(نور ایدہ علی محمد)	p. 158	
(مولانا شمس الدین محمد شمس الدین)	p. 167	(میرزا قاسم)	p. 170	
(مولانا دلاور علی محمد شمس الدین)	p. 83	(میرزا حسین معانی)	p. 96	
(میرزا اسرار اللہ)	p. 97	(شیخ نژادہ انصاری)	p. 102	

(4) 'Ali Sher (Majalis-un-Nafais) p. 25 (Sharfudin 'Ali Yazdi)  
p. 48. (مولانا میرزا علی بی) p. 58. (مولانا سید علی بی) p. 91 (مولانا میرزا علی الدین بیگ)  
رازی

Due to Turkish princes and also 'Ali Sher Nawai's personal influence, Chaghatai, Turkish (Eastern) became very popular among the intelligentsia at Harat. Hasan Isfraini (d. 642 A.H.) had adopted it as a medium of his poetry (1) but it was Nawai, the father of Turkish who raised it to the position of a language. He wrote Turki prose and poetry along with Persian. This gave rise to a class of bilingual scholars (Persian and Turkish). The number of such scholars runs to a score (2). Thus Turkish influences gain ground (4) in and around Harat. The court at Harat had a special taste for paintings. The famous artist Bihzad flourished there. Every corner of Harat was popular for its artists (painters). Poetry and other Arts held only the second place. The taste of the people for visual arts was bound to act on other arts as well. Most of the scholars of East are perhaps visual. In poetry (especially Qasidas) there are fine specimens of gardens and citadles, hunting grounds and meadows. In order to understand an idea (even in philosophic speculations) they had to visualize it. This strong tendency was now gathering its full outlet in painting. It had given rise in Insha literature to the depiction of fantastic scenes (technically called *Şifât*) (3). Accidentally enough the one description ( *See* ) of this kind in this period is regarding Bihzad the painter----written by Khwand Mir in his Nama-i-Nami.

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Notes. (2) 'Ali Sher (Majalis Nafais) records the following bilingual poets:  
 p. 9. Mawlana Khawarizmi; p. 41. Maulana Harimi  
 p. 50. Mawlana Nacibi; p. 50. Mawlana Muqimi Harwi  
 p. 51. Mawlana Latifi; p. 52. Mawlana Hilali.  
 p. 53. Mir Said Kabuli; p. 54. Mirza Beg; p. 57. Amir Shaikhah Suhaili; p. 64. Maulana Shauqi; p. 79. Majnuni  
 p. 83. Mawlana Gadai; p. 170. Mirza Qasim; p. 174. Zahir-ud Din Babur; p. 173. Sultan Masud Mirza.

(4) It must be noted that in Khawarizm Turki was the spoken language (see Ibid p. a.) but it was a rare achievement at Harat or else where. Nafi's's persian translator (928 A.H.) says that he translated the book because certain people did not know Turki. see editors preface page ( *See* ).

(3) (for such examples before the period now under discussion) See. Maqamat-i-Hamidi for *Şifât-i-Bahar*, Khusraw for the praise of flower.

(1) Dawlat Shah (Damin 'Ali ed. ) p. 147.



In the dull and tedious work of Khwand mir, the letter written to Bahzad (about his paintings) is like an oasis in a desert.

POLITICAL ) The first period of Renaissance in Art and Literature  
BACKGROUND.) had started with Shah Rukh and his sons Ulugh Beg and Baysunghur (d. 836 A.H.). After Shah Rukh's death, Abu Said carved a separate empire in Transoxiana and soon took Harat as well. Thus the patronage to visual arts and scholars was extended over to the citizens of Harat. This line of rulers ended in 872 A.H. when an other decendent of Timur's family Bayqara (d. 911 A.H.) (from Timur's son 'Umar Shaikh) assumed power in Khurasan. With his reign begins that golden age of Arts that second Renaissance, "the source of all civilized standards". His peaceful reign was a place of refuge for scholars, sufis, calligraphists and painters. The scholarly Jami and the master painter Bihzad flourished during his peaceful reign.

INSHA WORKS) To resume the thread of chronology we find the first name occurring on our list that of Muhammad b. Hindu Shah of Nakhjwan. He had been invited by Khwajah Ghayath-ud-Din (during the reign of Abu Said) to write an Insha manual, but he was not able to do so. It fell to the lot of the Ilkhani ruler Owais Bahadur Khan (A.H. 757-776) that Muhammad joined his service and wrote his Dastur-ul-Katib fi Tayin-il-Maratib, and dedicated it to the Khwajah (1). As Rieu's description would show, the letters and mandates are models of epistolary composition. He seems to have made a departure from previous masters of prose style whose style ( he says ) has become antiquated. And now we enter the second phase of the Renaissance, the Age of Jami the Saint and of Bahzad the painter. The city of Harat had been fast absorbing the traditions of paintings and architecture through the patronage of Timuri princes, which attracted artists from central and South Persia to the courts of Transoxiana and Khurasan, Samargand and Harat.

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Notes. (1) Sup. Rieu. p. 122. No. 189.

There are about twelve Insha writers during this period. Leaving aside the writers on the Art of Insha there remain about six writers of Insha literature and if we add to these the names of those whose books have perished, the number rises many digits (1). Out of these Insha writers, Ashraf Simnani, Khwand Mir; Shah Tahir, Hakim Yusuf, Miram Siah, and Qasim Tibsi will be dealt with, under India and the Deccan. For the present let us take up Munshaat-i-Jami (between 817-898 A.H.) Muin-i-Zamchi (873 A.H.) and Inshai Marwarid (author d. in 922 A.H.). Jami's letters are grotesquely common-place. The language is full of mannerism and the use of phrases too cheap and worn out to be of any real value. His Baharistan, an imitation of Gulistan---is a conscious attempt at imitation and lacks even occasional outbursts of emotions. A school master's pen is too weak an instrument for producing first rate works.

Muin-i-Zamchi's Insha is a collection of author's personal letters and state documents (drafted by the author on behalf of his patron). His liking for the (براعت) Braat-i-Istihlal is too strong a temptation to allow originality. His Matbu' is worthless, abounding in repetitions, and fullest surrender to contemporary ephemeralities. His Masnu' (Uslub-i-Gharib) is a foolish attempt. He is a slave of the fashions of the moment. Insha-i-Marwarid or Sharafnamah is a "collection of Epistolary specimens" (2) made by Shihabud Din Marwarid (an official of Abul Ghazi Husain (872-912 A.H.) and his minister Mir Ali Sher). The book contains original documents chiefly written by the author on behalf of his master.

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Notes. (1) Ali Sher gives the following names.

p. 93. Mulla Nami; p. 94. Mir Khwand.  
 p. 93. Husain Waiz Kashifi; p. 106. Khwajah Abdulla Sadr  
 p. 103. Mawlana Shirini; p. 99. Mawlana Abdul Wasi and  
 p. 170. Mirza Qasim.

We do not find the Insha works of any of these, (with the exception of Mir Khwand and Husain Waiz Kashifi)

(2) cc. A.S.B. p. 116.







Faraid-i-Ghazal is an other book belonging this period. It is

a collection of letters of the so called previous and contemporary

masters of style, made by Yusef b. Muhammad b. Shihab (4) alias

Yusef ahl and dedicated to Khwaja Ghias-ud-Din Pir Ahmad Khawari

(820 A.H.) minister of Mirza Shah Rukh. The compiler has not hesitated

from adding his own sentences to laudic letters. The book is preserved

in incomplete form in Berlin and Punjab University Library, Lahore.

The book is rich in trite phrases and full of hackneyed verses from

eminent Arabic and Persian poets.

## INDIA.

INDIA, as Topa rightly thinks of it, is a sub-

continent (1) and its geographical features are such that the social

conditions prevailing in the upper regions cannot be found operating

in the lower ones. The Deccan has always been separate from the rest

of upper India (3) and its relations in the middle ages, have been

much more solid with Iran and Arabia than with Delhi and the Punjab.

Therefore it is convenient to accept the division suggested by Nicolai

de conti (2) (the Venetian traveller) and treat the Deccan separately

The centre of interest shifts to the Deccan. The influx of refugees

from Asia towards Delhi had been more or less continued from Ilkhanid

to the period under review and even after, but during the days of the

Tughlugs, when Delhi was facing constant famines, little attraction

can be expected for the adventurous (but famine-stricken) population

of Iran to drop in Delhi. Thus the bands of travellers poured in the

Deccan. The Sultanate at Delhi was losing its grip and no prospects

for foreign poets, scholars and administrators were left. All that

they could expect was to flock to the newly rising muslim states in

the Deccan. Mahmud Gawan's patronage was preferable to that of

Bihwal Khan.

Notes.

(1) Topa. (Facts about India) pp. 9, 10.

(2) Pant (Commercial policy of the Mughals) p. 19.

(3) Baguni also treats Deccan as a separate country see. p. 170

(Vol. 111).

(4) D O.C.M. Nov. 1949.

Thus, up to the invasion of Babur, Upper India has been more or less a separate territory.

(FAMINES) India is an agricultural country and most of the

population over here depends, even to the present day, for its

livelihood on earth. The chief cause of famines in India has always been failure of rains, and its ruinous effect can well be imagined in period where there was no extensive system of irrigation (1).

Ilutush's treasury had been emptied by his forty and when Balban took the Government in hand, he had to start his career as a king with empty pocket. From the time of Ilutush onwards people from Iran have been pouring in the territory of the Sultan's of Delhi.

Balban had himself welcomed many more. Almost every year India had to face Mongol invasions. Balban had realized the danger and tried to improve his army, he garrisoned the chain of fortresses lying along the western borders of India. He had to spend lavishly on his army. Jalal-ud-Din's reign witnessed a great famine, immediately after the slaughter of Sidi Maulah. The Hindus from Sawalik had

faced its atrocities the most (2). The scarcity of rain was the

(chief ?) cause, we are told.

Notes. (1) The intensity and frequency of these famines was strengthened by "the resourceless condition and the chronic poverty of the soil on which they depend for their living"--Thus R.C. Dutt

comments on the reports of the Indian Famine commission (published in 1800 and 1898) telling the melancholy tale of twenty two famines with in a period of 130 years of British rule in India. The condition during the Sultanate is not very different from the one commented upon by Dutt. R.C. Dutt. (Open Letters to Lord Curzon on Famines and Land Assessments in India) p. 17.

(2) Berant. p. 212.



'Alaud-Din Khelji had squandered all the money collected from the Deccan (during the reign of his uncle) and in his later career became miser, so much so that Amir Khusrav had to face great difficulties in extracting money from the pocket of the 'world conqueror'. 'Alaud-Din's reign faced about eight attacks from the Mongols (1) and the efficient monarch had to control the fluctuation of prices. He tried to suspend the laws of supply and demand and was successful in his endeavours. The rationing of necessities of life shifted over the danger of an economic collapse on to his successors. He gathered money, through his Deccan conquests and heavy taxation through out his empire (2); and spent them on his army (3). The population of the country had a hand to mouth living. Thus his control over the supply brought the rate of living very low but his heavy taxation exhausted the capacities or buyers to the same degree (4). Each time that the Mongols attacked India they were defeated and crushed and 'pyramids of heads were built' (5). No one of the army of Iqbal Manda saved his life and the fear of king's army settled in the hearts of Mongols to such an extent that it washed the idea of attacking India out of their minds (6). But this is not the whole of truth because India had to face Mongol attacks till very late. The existence of Mughalpurahs in certain centres of the empire shows that many Mongols had settled in India under the Delhi Sultanate.

Notes. (1) Muhammad Shafi, footnote to Rashid-ud-Din Fad-Iullah (Makatiib-i-Rashidi) pp. 323-324.

(4) Barani's review on this point is astonishingly clever. He says: ----- (Barani p. 312).

(2) Tabaqat. p. 259.

(3) Barani. p. 324 says -----

And again he says on p. 340. -----

which shows that even the army was not well paid.

(5) Barani. p. 320 & 321.

(6) Ibid. p. 322.

Many more had already been residing as captives of war (slaves  
 They over-populated area of Delhi was at the mercy of cultivators  
 in the Doab who in turn depended on rains. The empire had become to  
 vast and unwieldy to allow a decrease in the army. The over-popula-  
 ted area was allowed to remain so, nay the population added up from  
 Egypt and western Iran (territories with Arabic influences). Muham-  
 ad Tughluq (725 A.H.-752 A.H.) "hit upon the idea (in the earlier  
 part of his reign) of recruiting foreigners from the Muslim lands  
 outside India---the Sultan went to the extent of offering the most  
 responsible and distinguished offices of the kingdom (to them) (1)  
 But he had to pay for his generosity. In his later life he had  
 to order for their wholesale slaughter (2). Constant rebellions  
 (3) and the change of capital to Daulatabad (4) must have led to  
 great economic disaster (5). The reign witnessed two famines the  
 one starting in 738 A.H. and ending in 740 A.H. and the second in  
 the years 744, 745 and 746 A.H. (6). Thus roughly speaking the seven  
 years of Muhammad's reign were spent busily fighting out these  
 famines and we can say without the fear of contradiction that "The  
 first three Tughluqs (Tughluqs) witnessed the growth of all the  
 essentials of a sound famine policy (7)" Timur's invasion broke to  
 pieces the seeming unity of the Delhi Sultanate in 801. A.H. Timur  
 had since long cherished desires for Ghazni.

Notes. (1)

Ahrar. p. 178.  
 Barani. p. 501.

(3) Mahdi Husain (The rise and fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq)  
 p. 141 says "Six rebellions preceded the year 1335 and  
 fifteen followed it--Almost all the rebellions of the  
 first group were essentially isolated instances of the  
 out break of troubles primarily caused by individuals and  
 were subdued by the emperor in person or by his provin-  
 cial Governors or by the Wazir. But the rebellions of the  
 second group were far more wide spread".

(4) Barani. p. 474.

(5) This transfer was effected by two successive stages

727 A.H. and again 729 A.H. see. Mahdi Husain p. 115.

Mahdi Husain further says that the transfer was not com-  
 plete as Barani thinks it to be. But the fact seems to

be other wise (see Ibn-i-Batuta pp. 150-151, Urdu Tr.)

It is true it soon recovered its lost glory.

(6) Muhammad Husain's footnote (p. 133) to Ibn-i-Batuta's

Safar namah. Urdu Tr. Sindh. p. 106 (under the year

744 A.H.) says-----

(7) Tripathi. p. 238.  
 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000

He devastated Lahore completely and it was till the year

815 A.H. that it lay in ruins (2). "The sack of Delhi by Timur's

soldiers is one of the most tragic events in the blood stained

annals of that ill-fated city (1)". After Timur's departure, in

Delhi and other places where his army had traversed there ensued a

famine (3) many men died of starvation and the city lay in ruins

for about two months. Nikitin who visited India in 1468 A.D.

(873 A.H.) says, "Living in India is very expensive" (4). Thus there

was no attraction for foreign scholars in Upper India and Indian

scholars too (due to lack of peace of mind) did not produce any

work of importance (except a few histories). After Timur's with-

drawl, when Bahlul Lodhi was invited to Delhi, "almost every town

had its own ruler and the titular Sayid monarch ruled only over

the city of Delhi and a few neighbouring villages" (5). The Pathan

rulers had no liking for learning and literature and if the remarks

of Akhawan Derwizah are to be believed they hated those who spoke

Persian (6), Sikander Lodhi is an exception. Thus in the whole period

under review, leaving aside the Tughlugs, there are two more courts

that patronised Persian language and literature, Sikander Lodhi and

Humayun. A rival centre of learning was Jaunpore which came into

prominence in the 9th C.A.H., after the fall of Multan (7).

MYSTICISM AND ) The eighth century "was remarkable for the

BHAGTI MOVEMENT.)

activity of the Muslim Sufis in Bengal" (8).

Notes. (1) Ishwari Pershad (History of Medieval India). p. 379.

(2) Shrinidhi p. 167 and 197.

(3) Ibid p. 167.

(4) Pant. p. 21.

(5) Ashraf. p. 105.

(6) Nazki. O.C.H. p. 30 May, 1933. and also Abdullah p. 16.

Chap. I. and Shafarazi (Punjab Men Urdu) p. 271.

(7) Shafarazi (M) p. 202 and p. 207.

(8) Ishwari Pershad (Medieval) p. 408.



In western India mysticism was gaining ground among the masses and thus conversions to Islam along with keenness of Sufis for

Arabic and Persian was going on. But these Sufis mainly devoted

themselves to the native tongues for their preaching. Thus, on the one hand Sufis were becoming popular among the uneducated in villages and among the educated in cities, and on the other hand their influence was changing the very course of Hindu religion. Thus "in

west India and the Panjab---Benkara's Vadanata and Sufistic Pantheism formed the intellectual back ground of the Bhatti emotionalism

and esotericism, partly because they were really a continuation of

the immediately preceding religion on Buddhism, which in turn had

been a carrying-forward of Upanishadism (1)". The medium of Bhatti

ideas was the Hindi, therefore we cannot trace its direct influence

on Persian literature as such. All that we can account for is,

its influence on the outlook of the age which had started looking

at Muslims as brothers and their monarchs as overlords (2). This

brought Muslims nearer the Hindus and thus facilitating the amal-

ization of two ideologies made the Indianization of conquerors

easy. In Sikander Lodhi's reign we find Hindus learning Persian

languages. The early settlers of the Deccan (the foreign stock who

had gone to the Deccan with Muhammad Tughluq) were called Daccanis

as opposed to the fresh immigrants from Iran (3). If Ibn-i-Battuta

is to be believed even Hindu women could speak Persian (4) and we

are told of Babur who heard (in India) a parrot uttering two Persian

sentences (5). But these examples should only be treated as except-

tional cases. Besides we find poets exclusively devoting themselves,

to Hindi at the close of this period (6). In spite of Persian

being the spoken language, native languages were fast becoming

Notes. (1) Mohan Singh, p. 17.

(2) Ashraf (footnote p. 143) Kabir could not imagine a state

of things when people could rule themselves.

(3) Sherani (Mahmud Gawan) p. 63.

(4) Abdullah p. 16.

(5) Ghani (A history of Persian language and literature at

the Mughal court) part. I. Babur. chap. V. p. 75, 76.

(6) It is one such example.

popular. Sufis and Saints were the true upholders of the cause of dialects.

INDIANIZATION OF PERSIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Bilingual writers (Persian and Hindi) were to be found during the reign of Sikander. Though Persian was "Amish ul alainah" yet Hindi vocabulary was more popular even among Persian scholars. In Persian dictionaries we find Hindi equivalents, thus making the situation sufficiently clear that the medium of instruction for Persian was Hindi---a fact supported by the discovery of -----The bilingualism interested the

Indian element in its vocabulary. Shairani (2). Blochmann (3) and Phillet (4) have prepared long lists of Hindi words, which can rise double their present amount if such a vocabulary be collected from the pages of Bhow (Bihwah or Buhwah) Khan's 'Adannush-Shifa-i-Sikandar Shahi. India (especially upper India) had been cut off from Fars, Khurasan and even Transoxiana---the last mentioned place had been exerting its influence as least as the reign of Muhammad Tughling. And Indian vocabulary, Indian phrases, Indian Muhawarat and India expression was occasionally adopted (5). After Alaud-Din's reign Architecture of the Sultanate had started denouncing Indian elements (6), but Persian literature started absorbing Indian elements with a great speed.

INDIA LITERATURE. } Transoxianian Persian with its Indian stamp became the order of the day. As the history books of the period show two rival schools of prose e.g. Masnu and Maibou continued.

Notes. (1) Shairani (Proceeding of Idara-i-Ma'arif-I-Islami 1933) (2) Shairani (Panjab men Urdu) (3) Blochmann. contributions to Persian Lexicography. p. 32, 33 (4) Phillet (Higher Persian Grammar). (5) Masnu. O.C.M. May (1933. p. 31.) (6) James Fergusson (Muslim Architecture in India. Urdu Tr. Hashmi Faridabad) chap. 111. p. 41.

Khuraw's prose does not seem to have affected the prose of

the later ages. But on the whole the period after Piruz Tughluq is almost barren in first rate, even second rate literature. The un-

popularity of scholars had started some time earlier. Shahrani has

made sufficiently clear the issue while commenting upon the reign

of the illiterate 'Ala-ud-Din Muhammad Shah (715 A.H.) in his excell-

ent monograph 'Panjab men Urdu' (1).

The evening spread its wings across the sky and we find two

tiny twinkling stars appearing on the horizon e.g. 'Aln-ul-Mulk Bahru

and Sharfud Din Munyar accompanied by two more from Iran i.e. Ash-

raf Shamsani (who came here before 800 A.H.) (2) and Mir Sayyid 'Alī

Hamadani (alive in 782 A.H.) the only flickers of light in the

darkness which surrounds the age (3). 'Aln-ul-Mulk of Multan, we are

told, was the author of excellent books during the reigns of Muhammad-

ad Tughluq and Piruz Tughluq (4). His only extant work 'Munshat-i-

Mahru or Inshat Mahru has come down to us in two manuscript copies

(5). Sharfud Din (died 782 A.H.) the famous saint of the province

Bihar, in addition to his works in Hindi, is also the author of

three collections of letters (6)---"dealing with numerous topics of

mythical Sufic maxims" (7). The famous Sufi saint Mir Sayyid 'Alī

Hamadani came to India and resided in Kashmir for about 40 days in

781 A.H. His two collections of letters 'Risalah-i-Makhtubat and

'Makhtubat-i-Amriliyah' "are on spiritual subjects" (8).

Notes. (1) Shahrani (p. 270)

(2) Rieu vol. I. p. 412.

(3) Rieu. vol. II. p. 836. also see Qamus ul Mashahir vol. I.

p. 317; and Ikram (Chashmah) p. 333.

(4) Ishwardi Pershad p. 619 (on the authority of Siraj-i-Arif)

(5) IV. A.S.B. p. 149 and also Bakipure Public Library. see

also the article on this book by Maulwi 'Abdul Wali Khan

in J.A.S. B. xix, 1923, No. 7, pp. 253-290. The compiler

of Asiatic Society Cat. says, "They (these letters) were

primarily intended by the author to serve generally as

models for elegant (Masnu') official correspondence and

therefore some of them are either sufficiently vague sta-

ting no definite facts or the dates and names of persons

and places are intentionally omitted".

(6) Rieu vol. II. p. 1058 fol 30, Bank vol. 17, p. 95 section

V; Banki vol. 16, p. 26, 27 and numerous copies in the Panjab Univer-

sity Library.

(7) Banki. vol. 16, p. 26 also see 'Abul Fadl (Insha) dafatir

p. 16. (Muzaffar Book dpt. ed.).

(8) Rieu vol. II. p. 836. See also 'Abdul Haq Dehlawi (Akbar-

ul-Akhyar) p. 133, His devotee Shaikh Husain had also letters. see.

Ibid p. 139. Shaikh Sharfud Din of Panipat (Bu 'Alī Galander) also

had his letters. See Ibid. p. 147.



Ashraf Saimant (at the age of 25) came to India for gaining

mystical knowledge and became a Murid of Ala-ul-Haq Leharwi Bengali (d. 800 A.H.) and settled in a village near Jaunpur. He died in

840 A.H. (1).

Baha-ud-Din Na'ib (died before 900 A.H.) the Indian saint of

Bengal is the author of a collection of letters *Sahif-ut-tarigah*

(collected in 896 A.H.), "on ascetic life and religious subjects"

(2). He was the contemporary of Sikander Lodhi (894-923 A.H.) whose

reign is famous for educational endeavours and dictionaries. During

Sikander's reign due to his favours the great Shaikhs and ulamas

from Arabia and Ajam and other parts of India flocked in to Delhi

and Agra and settled there (3). The reign of Babur and Humayun

brought in its wake fresh bands of migratory writers from Iran (4).

"From Babur's time down to Aurangzeb's there is a row of poets who

kept migrating to India from Persia, Bukhara, Samarkand, Herat and

Turkistan, being attracted by the magnificence of Mughal and Deccan

courts" (5). Two of the Herat school Insha writers Hakim Yusu'f and

Khwandmir are to be found at Humayun's court. Not only Tibb and

Nujum (Astrology) were patronized at the Mughal court, it also

supported the cause of Insha literature. Mu'ammah and chronogra-

phic compositions were prevalent.

Notes. (1) Hien vol. I. p. 412 says "the letters were originally 75

but only 72 are extant. They are addressed for the most part to Shaikhs and ulamas, living in various part of India. Although dealing chiefly with religious subjects, and especially with the lives and teachings of saints, they often contain references to persons and events of the period".

(2) Hien. vol. I. p. 413.

(3) Niaz O.C.M. May, 1933. p. 36 (quotation from *Tarikh-i-*

Dehli).

(4) Ghani (Persian at the Mughal court vol. I.) p. 143 says

"Among Babur's contemporaries there were many who came to India, and wrote their books here under the Indian patronage. No parallel instance is to be found in history of

period prior to his in which poets and scholars of Persian language migrated to India in such numbers. It is

mostly from his regime or the advent of Mughal rule that the Persian language in India has acquired its own

significance". see also Badami vol. III.

(5) Ibid. p. 138. chap. VII.

Khwandmir compiled his *Name-i-Nami* between the years 926 A.H. and 930 A.H. (1) and Hakim Yusef b. Muhammad his *Badai-ul-Insha* in 940 A.H. (2). Miram Shah of Gazwin (alive in 957 A.H.) is the compiler of *Insha-i-Miram Shah* (3). Thus the Tadhiri element of Harat school of *Insha* was made current in India as well. All these books are on the art of letterwriting with forms of letters for all possible emergencies, incidentally reproducing original official documents. *Namah-i-Nami* is rich in journalistic extravagances and is dull and tiresome to the extreme (4). Yusef's *Badai-ul-Insha* too is in the ordinary *Masnu*, affected and wearisome ~~known~~.

### DECCAN.

Out of the unwieldy empire of Muhammad Tughluq emerged the state of the Bahmani. The conditions both at the centre and in the Deccan were those of continuous flux---"not one of the states had been able to create hegemony over the others. Delhi was against Jaunpur, Jaunpur against Bengal, Gujarat against Malwa, Malwa against the Deccan, Deccan against the Vijayanagar" (5).

India was passing through a critical moment, though still cherishing hopes to recover its shattered fortunes. Constant famines and decentralization of the empire stopped that continued flow of those foreigners from Iran to Delhi who had nearly always been a source of power at the centre. The eyes and feet of migratory scholars and politicians now turned more towards the Deccan than to the fading out glory of the pathan empire at the centre. The early representatives of Delhi aristocracy in the South (mostly of Central Asia Turki stock or Afghan heritage) carved out new states for themselves.

- Notes. (1) *Rhe* (India office) p. 1137 No. 2055.  
 (2) *Ibid.* p. 1139 No. 2057, 58, 59, 60.  
 (3) *Ibid.* p. 1140 No. 2061, 62.  
 (4) It is interesting to note that Babur had a special dislike for the *Masnu* (see Ghani (Mughal) vol. I. p. 13) though the contemporary scholars could only have detested such a deviation from the General taste.  
 (5) Sherwani (Mahmud Gawan). p. 19.

The new comers came mostly from Najaf, Karbala, Medinah,

Staten, Khurassan and Gilan. Though the process of arrival of these Afagids (as they were called) was fairly continued one, yet history records at least two occasions when the influx was at its highest watermark. The reign of Firuz witnessed the arrival of traders from Basrah. During the reign of his successor, these Afagids not only had a great say in administrative matters but Ahmed (Prime Minister, himself an Afagi) "ordered a special corp of 3000 archers from Iraq, Khurassan, Transoxiana, Turkey and Arabia to be enrolled in the royal army" (1). The second great influx was the arrival of the famous

Saint Shah Nizam Ullah Kermani's family to Bidar (after 843 A.H.). The stream of scholars and merchants to the Deccan had become

constant. Mahmud Gawan while inviting Abu Bakr Tehrani to Bidar tells him that the scholars were constantly dropping in the land of his residence (2). Hurmuz (or Jurum as it was known in those days) was the port that linked Iran with the Deccan (though its ports; Debul and Chaul). Therefore, as was to be expected, most of the

merchants and scholars who went to the Deccan belonged to the coasts round the Persian Gulf (a territory with Arabic influences). We can safely assert that the people from Staten and Khurassan were never in majority at the Capital (Bidar) because we do not come across Turkish influences that were prevalent in Iran proper (Timurid territory).

The bilingual writers in Timurid territory were masters of Turkish (Eastern Turkish i.e. Chaghatay Turkish) and Persian, but in the Deccan the bilinguals were scholars of Persian and Arabic only. MAHMUD GAWAN Khwajah 'Imad-ud-din Mahmud (b. 813, put to death in 836), was a native of Gawan a place situated in Gilan on the

Southern Coast of the Caspian see.

Notes. (1) Sherwani (Mahmud Gawan) p. 65.  
(2) Mahmud Gawan (Mudat Insha) Letter 43. p. 176.



His birth place, where he spent forty three years of his life, is a territory lying near the Arabic speaking people of Iraq. Thus it is not at all curious if we come across in Khwajah's Persian writings a special liking for Arabic vocabulary and even Arabic phrases and sentences. His round about and intricate way of expressing his ideas throws light on the temperament of western Persians of whom the author of Ma'athir-i-Rahim informs us/specially inclined towards them and Dawlat Shah affirms it by saying that the poetry of Shari'ud Din Kamal (contemporary of Hafiz) in which he has made an excessive (note the word excessive) use of figures of speech is not so popular in Samarkand as in Iraq and Azarbyjan (1). Khwajah got his education from Shaikh Bukhari (Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Mahmud al Shams alsharif) at Ghazirah and came into contact with certain scholars of Syria (2). Thus his Persian is Arabic only with slight modifications, and Arabic too of a florid type. He is the author of two (three?) prose works in Persian e.g. 'Madul Insha' (a collection of his letters) and 'Mansur-i Insha' (a book on the Art of Insha) (3). Both have been written in the same strain, Mansur. He follows the methods of Khurasan's Association without either the Anghakht or the Khayal. His biographer Heron Khan Sherwani while commenting upon his prose says, "Apart from the historical material contained in the Mad-ul-Insha this collection of his letters is a fine example of how the author lived up to the principles he propounded in the 'Mansur-i Insha'". (4).

Notes. (1) Dawlat Shah (Dawlat Ali Ed.) p. 210.  
(2) Ghulam Yazdani (Foreword to Madul Insha) p. 210.  
(3) Sherwani, P.U.L. No. 682 (2) (3) (4) (5) probably by Khwajah Mahmud Gawan. see also Banki (II), p. 116 No. 1098 (34) --- by Mu'in-i-Zamchi.  
Mansur-i Insha. P.U.L. India office. p. 1132, Henu. vol. II. p. 523. Bod. L. Cat. 830, Henu vol. II. p. 808; IV. A.S.B. p. 149. Mad-ul-Insha. IV. A.S.B. p. 150. No. 343, 344, 345 cc. A.S.B. p. 116. No. 128 II. 326. Etthe p. 1133, 2044, 2045. Henu. vol. II. p. 983. Bod. L. Cat. p. 831, No. 1349. Bombay Cat. p. 29. (4) Sherwani. p. 188.

The present writers feel, that it would have been better if Gawan

had not tried to live up to his own standard. The care for polishing

and decorating his language made him slave to verbal melodies and led

him astray from the basic principle of his own theory---the theory of

emotions. His letters are scholarly and over loaded with similes and

metaphors but lack that 'something other than scientific' which he him-

self so eagerly professed (1).

#### THE FALL OF ( ) Khwaja, "although pious, learned and munificent--- BAHMANI KINGDOM)

could not rise above the narrow orthodoxy of the age,

and his entire religious outlook was that of a typical medaaval canon-

ist" (2). He had a certain arrogance about him that made him unpopular

not only with his own sons but also with the rival party at the capital.

And this brought about his fall. His intense loyalty to the house had

(long before his death) discovered the graveness of political situation

in the Deccan. The pact with Jaunpur and Gujarat, on behalf of his over-

lord, isolated Melwa. The danger was averted and now he could easily

carry on his extra territorial ambitions, of conquering the Western

parts from Behair (near present day Bombay) to Goa. His death broke the

balance of power and the Bahmani kingdom hurried towards its long await-

ed fall. On its ashes rose five independent principalities e.g. the

Imad Shahis (or Berar); the Nizam Shahis (or Ahmad Nagar) the Adil

Shahs (or Bejapur); the Qutb Shahis (or Golkunda) and Barid Shahis (or

Bidar). These states kept the torch of learning burning in the territ-

ories and foreigners (especially persians) continued filtering down.

SHAH TAHIR ( ) Under the Nizam Shahis lived at Ahmed Nagar, a native of

Irak well versed in Astronomy and composition, Shah Tahir

(3) who had come to the Mughal court (Humayun) in 926 A.H. but shifted

to the Deccan in 928 A.H.

Notes. (1) Qadi Ahmed Mian has rightly remarked (Urdu Journal vol. 28. No. 1)

(2) Ishwari Pershad (Medaaval) p. 446.  
(3) Sam Mirza (Tuhfat-1-Sami) p. 29.

His personal influence brought the ruler to this sect (1).

He is the author of a "treatise on epistolography, with specimens; composed in 938 A.H." (2). The volume contains official correspondence drafted by Shah Tahir Dakhani (as he is popularly known).

GASIM (IBSI) Gasim is the author of a "rare collection of

official documents and private letters, written in an extremely

flowery style (3). Many of them are written on behalf of or addressed

to Ibrahim, Qutb Shah of Golkonda 957-989 A.H. Some of them are state documents addressed to various princes-----

unfortunately-----the original dates are omitted" (4). xxxxxxxx

xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

- Notes. (1) Badami (Muntakhab ul Tawarikh) vol. I. p. 483.  
 (2) Riche (India office) p. 1139, for bibliographical notes  
 see. Hen vol. I. p. 395; Banki I. Sup. p. 97, 1x1011.  
 317 b.-394 b. also p. 94, 95 No. 2119 VII 1011. 292-296.  
 (3) The italics are mine.  
 (4) He is also the author of Path namah.

(4) IV. A.S.B. p. 153.



(963 to 1014 A.H.)

TO INDIA

THE CENTRE OF ACTIVITY SHIFTS

Chapter VII

The centre of activity shifts to India.

With Akbar's ascendancy to the throne of India, Persian literature enters a new phase. The literary activity, which had for long been crippled due to lack of peace in Iran and India, now found a period of ease. The atmosphere surcharged with excitement and sentimentalism ended and the political, religious and social unrest took the shape of a tussle of ideas. This made the outflowing energies of poets and scholars (scattered in far off areas), a disciplined force. Their mental activities now confined to regular and dignified channels.

The successors of Timur had sheltered temporarily poets and scholars at Herat, just as a few years back the Muzaffarids had wrenched out the best of Persian poetry for themselves. Now the courts of Iran (Shah Abbas and Abdullah Khan Uzbek) and India (Akbar and Ibrahim Adil Shah) had offered their hand to literatures. In Iran the position of scholars had been some-what different from other courts and most of the writers preferred to try their fortune in India rather than to stay in Iran and to produce compositions made to order, much against their own will.

Shah Ismail the Safawi (907-930 A.H.) had made out an empire for his family on the deeprooted convictions of a Sufi. The Khans had long been feared by monarchs in India and Iran and the rise of Safawids shows that the fear was not altogether baseless. Shah Sali-ud-Din the Sufi was too fortunate to find after his death out of his family members emerging out victorious as a religious leader, a Sufi and a king. Ismail knew too well the age in which he lived and was ready to exploit the ambitions of his subjects. He introduced the element of 'nationalism' (1) in the form of the rule of one creed.

Notes. (1) I have used the word in a very limited sense; Safawi nationalism was religious in nature, Sufistic in temperament and political in its significance; it has nothing to do with the modern conception of the word because it denies love for the country as well as of the language.

He was hostile to any sect except Shi'ism. "All men were commended" says Browne "on the pain of death to exclaim: May it be more not less(1)". He had his will on the point of sword,

because he strongly believed in the necessity of one religious sect throughout the empire. If the integrity of an empire was to be based on religion it had to be different from the rival muslim monarchies (Pathans of Delhi (855-930 A.H.) the Shabants of Transoxiana (806 A.H.-1007 A.H) and the <sup>Account of</sup> Azerbaijan (780-908 A.H). The Shia inclinations of Ismail and his successors, seem to

be a matter of expediency as well as a real love for Shia beliefs. Persia had to be isolated in order to establish a strong empire. Shah Ismail could justify his claim as Sir Charles Napier had justified British annexation of Sindh (1843 A.D.) by saying, "We have no right to seize Sindh, yet we shall do so and a very advantageous useful, humane piece of necessity it will be". The Mahdists had come out and there was none to defy them. Safawi rulers (930 A.H.) were the heads of Shias, Akbar (980 A.H.) claimed the leadership of Din-i-Ilahi and Sultan Salim (923 A.H.) was trying to clad himself in the worn out cloak of the Caliphate. Those who stood against the Safawids were either put to sword or had to run to the territories of other two rulers. Thus we find, before the reign of Akbar, scholars penetrating in to India. This brought (during the reign of Akbar) not only Sunnis but also Shias for the king over here, was ready to ensure prospects of prosperity to both the sects.

### I N D I A.

SOCIAL RELIGIOUS AND ) 1. Economic. The Economic condition of the  
POLITICAL BACKGROUND.)

country had been very bad. Generally the people had been leading a miserable life, though the wealth at the Pathan court had been amazingly great. Babur counts the hoarding of money as one of the causes of Ibrahim Lodhi's fall. The low prices mentioned by Gulbadan Begum is a fact that supports Babur's remark. Sher Shah's economic reforms do not seem to have brought a revolutionizing change in the general state of affairs and finally it fell to the lot of Akbar to bring Afghan experiment into practical



Shiraz and even Ghazna.

2. Mullas. The ascendancy of the class of Mullas had been left

to develop throughout the Sultanate without any serious hindrance

except by Muhammad Tughluq who wanted to raise monarchy to the level

of both Mullahship and Sultanism (5). The struggle for power continued

till the last Sultan of Delhi (Ibrahim), whose attempt at raising his

prestige failed. He had to pay for his rashness and the quarrel passed

ed over to the conqueror. Babur had no idea to get rid of Mullas. He

could not do without them, because these men had a monopoly of some

of the very big positions of the State. His successors to the empire

the Sultans preferred Mulla dominance against the increasing power

of Sultans, around whom the starving population was gathering. It was

generally believed that a Mahdi will come out (1). The country needed

ed some sort of change. Mulla Abdullah Sultanpuri offered his support

ort to Salim Shah Suri by declaring a war against the Sultans (2). He

put many Sultans to sword. Thus Mulla supremacy continued till the

reign of Akbar (3) and the words of Abu Fadi:

suggest that the situation was not altogether encouraging because

Logic had given way to fallacies.

The public needed a change and it came in the garb of Akbar's

reign. The change was unexpected, almost dashing. Sentimentalism was

replaced by controversy. The change though not wholly good was at

least a change for the better.

Notes. (1) Badami vol. III. p. 31 & 35. (2) Ibid. p. 35.

(3) It should be remembered that these Mullas were Sunni Mullas

(4) Badami. vol. III. p. 78 C.F. Mujaddid Alf Thani.

(5) "During the kingship of Muhammad the Ulemas were dethroned

and held in check. Their religious influence was set at

naught. Their religious influence was counteracted. They

were deprived of their rights and privileges and had to

forego their social and religious status as a class"

Topa (Politics) p. 244.

Henceforth emotions got a free exercise and saved writers from mechanical and girlish supernaturalism. Thus poetry rose to the level which it had lacked so badly in the previous age. In prose compositions the balanced emotions show themselves in comparatively healthy trains of ideas.

### 3. Sufism

The night blooming cereus, the Sufis had been increasing in number after the Mongol invasions. As their number increased, monarchs in India and Iran had tried to have their control over them through the control of their income and expenditure. Akbar went to the extent of giving assent to Abul Fajl's request that "the Daroghas of every city town should record the house holders there of, name by name and trade by trade and should always keep a close eye on their income and expenditure and should expel the do-nothings the miscellaneous, and the bad" (1). Thus Sufi influence has always been feared by the Muslim rulers (of Agra and Delhi).

### 4. Din-i-Ilahi. Akbar was afraid of both the Ulama (2) and the Sufis. His fears proved correct when he found the Ulama joining the rebellion in Bengal. This compelled him to abolish the post of Sadar-i-Sudur (3). The way had long been suggested to him by Ismail the Safawi (930 A.H.) and Sultan Salim (923 A.H.). The only solution to the problem was to hit upon some plan of bringing over temporal as well as spiritual position in the person of the monarch. Sufism suggested the way. Sheikh Nubarak and his sons who had saved their lives from the Ulama only too narrowly, were ready to offer their help.

- Notes. (1) Pant. p. III (ref. Akbar Namah)  
 (2) Ikram (Rud-i-Kawthar) p. 18 (ref. Akbar's letter to Abdullah Khan Uzbek).  
 (3) Roy Choudhury (The Din-i-Ilahi) p. 126.

If he had sided with the Shia party it would have given him,

even in the eyes of his subjects, a position only second to the

Shah of Persia, a position which he was too intelligent to evade

through the fall of Bairam Khan. But he could use them (Shias) to his

own account. Hakim Abul Fati and Nurullah Shushtri (1) were made to

face the Sunnis. Thus was intensified the Shia-Sunni controversy that

had already originated from the persecution of the Sunnis in Iran.

Akbar had sowed wind, his successors (especially Alamgir) had to reap

whirl winds. Hence forth the Shia-Sunni clash became a clash of two

political parties (4)

Thus the Sunnis (tactless and arrogant (2) as they were) defeated,

and Akbar was free to have his own way. He could pretend to be any-

thing, and he actually pretended to be every thing. Shias thought

him to be a mild Shia, Zoroastrians regarded him a devotee of Zoroaster

christians had found in him an inclination towards Christianity and

he himself was ready to declare himself a Sunni (3). Thus he deceived

every one at the cost of his own sincerity. But he was not insincere

either. A mystic by temperament he could coordinate all the different

(nay contradictory) elements. Thus his Din-i-Ilahi is nothing short

of a Shia creed.

5. Hindus: Muhammad Tughluq's reign had enjoyed an increase in the

rate of conversions to Islam. The Shias and Shakhis spread all over

his empire (nay even in the territories of Hindu rulers) and the

missionary work was carried on with great zeal. Now during the reign

of Akbar it went on (especially in northern India) at the hands of

Sufis. Baduni tells of Shakh Daud (of Sakargadh) at whose hands near

ly fifty hindus used to adopt Islam daily (5). But Akbar does not seem

to have appreciated the idea of a state having any interest in

such conversions. He patronized the Hindus just as he had been patro-

nizing muslim Ulemas before the fall of Abdun Nabi and Makhdum

Mulk. After the Mahdar dispute he started openly

Notes. (1) Shushtri intelligent enough to rather his own creed upon the

early Sunni poets as well. This baptism of early poets is a rare achieve-

ment in literature. (2) "Baduni (himself a Sunni) had at several places

admitted that Mullas had fallen away from the proud dignity which they

had held previously, by their nefarious conduct"--and we do not find any

reason to refute him. (3) His letter to Abdullah Khan Uzbek. Abul Fati

(Insha) letter No. 2. (4) This mention lessened under Jahangir but again

showed its head under Shah Jahan. (5) Baduni vol. III. Under Shakh

Daud.



aiding with the opponents of the orthodox clique. Thus he brought to the fore-front a regular Hindu aristocratic class. The amalgamation of two cultures (Hindu and Muslim) started during his reign and in the reign of his successors we find clear traces of Hindu philosophy in the teachings of Muslim Sults. Hindus started learning Persian and after Akbar's death we find Hindu Inshe writers writing their documents in simple (Matbu) and direct prose, where as their contemporary Muslim writers (both India and Persian) still preferred to indulge in the Maanu.

6. Matbu: When in early 9th century A.H. Multan as a literary

centre decayed, the scholars shifted over to the interior of the subcontinent (India). Among them was Naiana Abdullah Talambhi(?) who went to Delhi. His pupil Naiana Aziz Ullah went to Samghal. Naiana Abdullah was a pupil of Naiana Abdullah Yazdi, the famous Logician. The intrusion of the writings of Allamah Tartaani and Mir Syed Sharif in the curriculum changed the structure of education from that of Manqul to Matbu (1). This taste for Logic was intensified when in the 10th century the books of Daswani, Gadr Shirazi and Mirza Jan Shirazi were brought over to India. Logic had become very popular in Samargand and Bukhara. It led to a special taste for fallacious reasoning. Abdullah Khan Uzbek was compelled by the Sult Shaikhs to turn Logicians out of his territory. Logicians (e.g. Gadr Abul Nasir, Nulla Mirza Jan and Nulla (Usam?) were turned out of Transoxiana. Gadr Abul Nasir and Mir Fatih Ullah Shirazi were the chief exponents of Logic in India(2). It led to manipulations and fallacious reasoning, the chief characteristic of poetry and Insha prose after Akbar.

7. Literary Writers. During Humayun's reign Persian scholars of reputation had been pouring in India. His court employee Bairam Khan was a great patron of Persian learning (3). Writers had been coming to his service in India as early as 932 A.H. (4).

Notes. (1) Sharwani (Masalat) p. 207.  
(2) Ikram (Ind-I-Kawthar) p. 46-47. (ref. Budanui).  
(3) Budanui vol. III. p. 31 and again p. 180.

(4) Budanui vol. III. 326.

and after Humayun's death when Bairam Khan was a regent, this flow did not come to a stop. Khwajah Abdush Shahid (1), Nawana Mirza Samarqandi (2) Hakim Sayid Malik Demawandi (3) Farighi Shirazi (4) and Pir Muhammad Shirwani (5) were among those who entered his court. Shah Ismail's tyranny had compelled Miran Kamal-ud-Din to join the caravan of Syed Rafi-ud-Din Muhaddith and Abul Fath Khurasani to settle in Agra (during the reign of Sikander Lodhi) (6). His son Tahmasp (Ismail's son) too had been a source of banishing the Sumi Mulas out of his domain. The Safi Sayids are an example (7). During Akbar's reign (starting practically from 963 A.H. (8) when the terrible famine of 963 A.H. (9) had subsided in the neighbourhood of Agra and Blyana, great number of Shia and Sunni writers came to the Mughal court. The patronage of Akbar (10) Khan-i-Khanan, Abdur Rahim and Abul Fath was a great attraction for foreign scholars (or Muslim service (13). Not only poets from Iran came to India, but there are instances that Indian poets also went to Iran (14) a very rare thing before this period. (15).

- Notes. (1) Ibid. p. 40. (2) Ibid. p. 149. (3) Ibid. p. 162. (4) Ibid. p. 292. (5) Ibid. p. 156. (6) Ibid. vol. III. p. 126. (7) Ibid. p. 97. (8) Ibid. p. 97. (9) Ibid. p. 97. (10) Ibid. p. 97. (11) Ibid. p. 97. (12) Ibid. p. 97. (13) Ibid. p. 97. (14) Ibid. p. 97. (15) Ibid. p. 97.

The patronage of Mughals extended to poets and

( PERSIAN )  
( LANGUAGE )

scholars led to amalgamation of different elements. In

India a peculiar colour had already been given to Persian language.

The Persian scholars of this period were conscious of it (1) But

there does not seem to be among the newcomers any condemnation of

Indian scholars on the ground of their being Indians. The new comers

were accepted as masters of the language (2) by the inhabitants of

India. This helped old Transoxianic Indian traditions to assimilate

new trends from Transoxiana, Khurasan and Iraq. The poetic traditions

in India were influenced (mostly) by Persian Debistan which had

established itself in Western Iran especially in Kashan---the then

centre of learning. Harat school scholars had popularized the style

of Khurasan (in poetry) in Iran; the already existing liking for them

in the Western parts of Iran found this more congenial to their taste

( a taste which had been already perverted from the 4th century of

the Hijrat through the constant study of Naqamat at schools). This

Kashan element was introduced in India which got a peculiar Indian

tinge) Post Mughal Indian School). It is interesting to note that

in the prose pieces (especially Insha works) of this period we do

not find in upper India this Sakal-Hindi which had been so common

among poets, its early traces in prose are to be found in the

Deccan (in Zuhuri's prose).

Notes. (1) Nahawandi vol. III. p. 1179.

وہابیہ کی تاریخ (۱۱۷۹ھ)

and also Badauni vol. III. p. 215.

وہابیہ کی تاریخ (۱۱۷۹ھ)

At another place Nahawandi (p. 888 & 723) says that

Indian poets (of Persian Language) who went to Iran were

greatly honoured. He mentions one Indian poet Nazari who

was honoured and appreciated in Khurasan.

(2) Nahawandi has many such instances e.g. p. 902.



As regards Persian prose it had been treated through out the

Sultanate as the language of correspondence and it was now during the

reign of Akbar that it was also introduced in the finance department

in 990 A.H. Thus not only men like Ishq Khan (1) were entertained

but also the Hindus were encouraged to learn Persian (2) Another note

worthy point about this period was the unpopularity of Muhammad in

India (3) Though in the previous period Shakh Yaqub of Kashmir had

been compiling books on this art (4), but now it fell out of use.

Id further be pointed out that in one of the items of Insha literature

ornate. This same tendency showed itself in contemporary Iran. Florid

style at the court of Akbar is not very much different from that of

Abbas. "It appears that this was the style of all cultured Persians"

(5). Thus all the state correspondence in India and Iran and much of

private correspondence as well, followed the same school of prose. It

is interesting to note that the hatred of Iranis against Indian prose

dates from the days of Aurangzeb. The Sabk-i-Hind was started by

those Persian poets of Iran who had come to the Mughal court in India

during the reign of Akbar. The tendency of double inferences and other

subtleties of thought were started by Persian writers themselves (6).

But we can not deny the fact that Indian-born writers took the things

too far (7) and reduced poetry to word-play and verbal trickery and

prose to cross word puzzle (8). But this stage was reached during the

end of Aurangzeb's reign.

Notes.

(1) Badami. vol. III. p. 277.

(2) Abdullah p. 25.

(3) Badami vol. III. 232 says:-

(4) Badami vol. III. p. 142.

(5) Ghani (Mughal Lit) vol. III. chap. VI. p. 234. (The author

has but to look at the list of Tazas on one hand and

on writers like Wassa and Jam's contemporaries on the

other.

(7) The names of Madhu Ram Baidil and Iradat Khan Wadhi are

examples.

(8) It was but natural for them because in order to prove him-

self a master of a language a foreigner does rely on the

bombastisms. Iranis themselves have been doing the same

in the case of Arabic.

INSHA LITERATURE Akbar's period was a period of creative liter-

ature. The theoretical side was neglected for practical purposes. A healthy element of Ijtihad forms the back-bone of the literature of this period. No book on the Art of Insha (with the exception of one (1) was written in this period, a majority of the books of Insha literature belonging to this period were in fact collected and arranged in the subsequent reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. The masters of style belonging to this period do not seem to have cared for the preservation of their prose compositions. Insha books belonging to this period are by Sheikh Mubarak (a Letter to Rajd) (2), Rajd (Latifa-i-Fayyad) (3) Abul Fath Gilani (Munshat or char Bagh) (4) Abul Wahab 'Anet' (Gulshan-i-Balaghāt) (5). Abul Bagh Magh Bandi, Abul Fadl (Insha darter 1, 11, 111, 1v, & Hudat), and Zuhuri (in the Decan) (Sinnathar, Wadit, & Dibchas). Besides these Badami mentions Itab (vol III, p. 275) and Qabdi (p. 299) and Mishani (p. 249) as masters of style. Nahawandi (Methir-i-Rahimi) mentions Mir Husain (p. 307), Wagui (p. 697) and Humam (p. 849), the last named, he tells us had his Munshat. The list is brief as compared with the one under either Jahangir or Shah Jahan or Aurangzeb, but the out put in its literary value is far more established. The intelligence of the writers of this period had that freedom of action to accumulate new and valuable knowledge which reformed the ways of their predecessors and gave a distinct and peculiar stamp of originality of thought to their own age. The cheques and restraints were set aside. They knew the perilous quandary in which mankind had been placed and tried to overcome it. Hakim Abul Fath's criticism of the poets compositions, Abul Fadl's passages on Khaganat and Anwar are clear signs of how the intelligent minds waged a regular war against 'pulpit allusion'. New adjustment of critical ideas was sought at every step. Abul Fadl and Zuhuri were the two, who for the most changed the very

Notes. (1) Munshat-i-Mamkin cc. A.S.B. p. 119 apparently Itab (see Badami vol. III. p. 275-76). (2) Rieu. vol. III. p. 1019 VII. fol. 256-259. (3) Rieu. vol. III. p. 791. Bombay. L. Cat. p. 230. Rieu. vol. III. p. 984; p. U.L. and Shatranj. p. U.L. No. 1511, 105. (4) Rieu. p. 1141 No. 2063; IV. A.S.B. p. 154 & Bombay. L. Cat. and p. U.L. & Shatranj. p. U.L. No. 1196.



course of literary taste in prose, just as Abul Fath and Rahim Khan-i-Khane had handled the new trend in poetry. The influence of the last two was on their own generation while that of the other two was on subsequent ages.

ABUL FATH'S (S) Let us take up Abul Fath first. His prose works extend

to the present day, are (a) Akbar Namah in three volumes, the third volume being *Aln-i-Akbari* (1) (b) *Ayar-i-Danish* (c) *Khutbah-i-Razm*

Namah (10) (d) *Insha-i-Abul Fath* in three parts, (e) a collection of his letters by his nephew Nur-ud-Din (4) (f) *Kajkol* (5) and (g) *Insha-i-Abul Fath* part fourth (6) out of these (c) (d) (e), and (g) fall in to the scope of the present topic (2).

*Insha-i-Abul Fath* darter four is very rare and contains fifty two letters The first letter is to 'Abdullah Khan Uzbek the rest are to his own brother, father, mother and other eminent persons of his time

including Prince Salim, Akbar Prince murad and Maryam Bakant (7) *Ethe* and *Rheu* notice another collection of letters edited by Nur-ud-Din,

a nephew of Abul Fath (8). *Abdul Gadir Sartaraz* tells us of another ex letter of Abul Fath addressed to Khan-i-Khanan which he has mentioned

in the Bombay Catalogue of MS (9).

Notes. (1)

Ghani (Mughal Lit). vol. III. p. 244, 245, 246. Different views have been held by writers about the resemblance of Akbar Namah with previous works especially Albiruni's book. Ghani has discussed this at full length and he holds that it was written in close resemblance with Zafar Namah of Ali Yazdi.

(5) See. Azad (*Nigariistan-i-Fars*) p. 115 where in he tells us that he had seen it written in Abul Fath's own hand.

(6) Asatlyah p. 114. Banki p. 78 and P.U.L. see also Storey

(7) For further information see Banki. vol. 9. p. 78. No. 869.

(8) *Insha-i-Abul Fath* (darter 1, 11, 111) was edited by Abbas

Samad another nephew of Abul Fath.

(4) *Ethe* p. 1143 & *Rheu*. vol. II. fol. 84-103.

(9) University of Bombay Cat. p. 222, 223 (2nd).

(10) His preface to the translation of Mahabharata.

(2) *Jami ul Lughat* has also been attributed to him, the

attributions is doubtful. see also Banki II, p. 116 (26 &

30) for---by---and also



ABUL FADL'S  
PERSONALITY.)

In order to understand Abul Fadl we shall have to

study his early childhood. Regarding his family post-

ion Blochmann informs us that he was the second son of his parents and that they were six brothers and four sisters in all, adding two of his father's post-humous sons from a concubine the number runs to twelve (1). These last two do not seem to have affected Abul Fadl's career at all. But even then the number is very large and it would

have been a tough job for our writer to make others feel his importance. Fadl was four years his senior and it was hoped that he will lead the family which he actually did along with his father. Nubarak's literary attainments, his Sufi temperament and his early attachment/during the Sufi ascendancy had made the position of Abu Fadl's family some what insecure. Mysticism and scholarship served an important basis for his sons who were eager to follow their father's

footsteps. But the greatness of family position could not allow any serious hostility among the brothers especially when Fadl was too submissive to the ever increasing encyclopaedic knowledge and

correctness of judgement of his younger brother. His whole career,

as his own letters and the letters of Abul Fadl would show, was that of allowing superior claims to his brother and he became contented

with the second position in all spheres of life. In the days of the ir early exile, when the family was trying to save itself from the clutches of the Ulama, it was the judgement of Fadl which had

plunged them into this dangerous act and it was his guidance in the

course of events that followed (2) that further put them in trouble.

Hence forth Nubarak preferred Abul Fadl's leadership in such matters (3). Abul Fadl's conquests in the field of literature had started a some time earlier, when he had completed his study at the age of

fifteen and was himself a teacher before twenty.

Notes. (1) Blochmann (his Int. to Āl-n-1-Akbarī) p. xx.  
(2) Ibid. & p. 332.  
(3) Abul Fadl Insha Darter 111. pp. 331.

His paternal attitude towards his elder brother is so marked that no reader of his letters can miss it. He advised him (rather than to get advice from him), and suggested him how to tackle the tangled situation in the Deccan. In this respect his attitude towards Faidi is not very different from that of his attitude towards Abul Khair or Abul Barakat. This submissiveness added to Abul Faidi's pride who could not but love his elder brother who was so kind, generous and accommodative (1). Thus the character trait fixed, the young

Faḍl is not very different from that of his attitude towards Abul Khair or Abul Harekat. This submissiveness added to Abul Faḍl's pride who could not but love his elder brother who was so kind, generous and accommodative (1). Thus the character trait fixed, the young scholar faced the world with confidence. The social and political

scholar faced the world with confidence. The social and political atmosphere around him was disappointing. The Ulama and the Sults were at daggers drawn. The fallacious reasoning of the learned had assured him of his superiority over others, which he was too clever to realize.

him of his superiority over others, which he was too clever to realize at the Ibadat Khannah. He fanned the quarrels by skillfully shifting the disputes from one point to another and at last persuaded the emperor that a subject ought to look upon the king not only as the

temporal, but also as the only spiritual guide" (2). Early in his life Abdul Fadi had a leaning towards mysticism. His father had led a life of seclusion till the year 977 A.H. (3) and after this date took up the mission of saving the king from the clutches of the Ulama (4).

the mission of saving the king from the clutches of the Ulama(4).  
Abul Fajl too wanted to lead the life of seclusion because he was  
fed up of the learned. But it was his brother Fajl who came to his  
rescue and requested him to join the court.

Thus Abul Fadi tried to fulfill the mission of his father. His rise at the court was un-hindered. In (1588 A.D.) he was promoted to the rank of Hazari. Fadi's rank was much

the tank of Hazari. Field's tank was much

Notes. (1) It is interesting to note that Paidl tried to follow his brother in every respect. The quotation from Paidl

- brother in every respect. The quotation from Badawut  
(vol. 3, p. 299) suggests some thing more,  
and also Faidi's verse (reproduced by Abul Fagl in his  
Akber namah in praise of Abul Fagl.  
(2) Blochmann (Int) p. viii.  
(3) Abul Fagl (Insha Darter iii). p. 329.  
(4) Ibid. cf.---

[illegible]



lower, but he never cared for promotion and was too happy when

he was appointed the poet laureate. Thus till the year 987 A.H. (A.D.

1579) <sup>when</sup> ~~disputations~~ had come to an end, he had gained the confidence

of Akbar.

His mind can be analysed to be working in three directions, e.g.

his desire for a secluded life, his love of Akbar, and his ambitions

for prominence among his colleagues. To the astonishment of all, he

was sincere in each of these apparently conflicting attitudes. His

mystical temperament coincided with his secular undertakings in the

person of the monarch, whom he raised to the position of a semi-God.

The idea of the sovereign as the shadow of God was too well-known to

the age in which he lived. The mystic temperament of the king was suit-

able enough for prophecies (1) and Abul Fazi took up the cause of

mysticism and saw in the person of the monarch that spiritual height

which is the goal of all mystical endeavours. He had become one with

the monarch to such an extent that he took king's enemies to be his

own enemies; and his pen sprinkled <sup>sarcastic</sup> remarks on Abdullah Khan

in such a way that one is compelled to take Abul Fazi for Akbar and

vice versa. In practical life and state correspondence he is energetic

proud and balanced but in his private notes, where in each thought

suggests him a circle of other thoughts, his mystic trance reveals

completely the agony of his unconscious

OPINION OF ( ) The opinions on his works differ to a great extent

OTHER WRITERS. European scholars have been very harsh, while Indian

writers too extravagant in paying homage to the once so popular so

original a writer. It is interesting to note some of the remarks.

Beveridge in his introduction to Abul Fazi's Akbar Namah says "Abul

Fazi is not an author for whom we can feel much sympathy and admira-

tion. He was a great flatterer and unhesitatingly suppressed or dis-

torted facts. His style, too, seems--at least to Western eyes--to

be quite detestable, being full of circumlocutions and both turgid

and obscure. He is often prolix, and often unduly concise and darkly

allusive" (2).

Notes. (1) Abul Fazi (Insha) dated I. Letter. 8.  
(2) Beveridge. (Preface to the 1st volume of Akbar Namah  
Eng. Tr.)



Thus we find that the very outset Beveridge condemns him on

moral grounds and then finds the justification in his being un-

familiar. The second argument is apparently an apology for believ-

ing the first, where as the first one is a moral criterion, which

has nothing to do with the theory of value in Art. Phillet is much

more rash in his remarks about the author. "His letters are", he

says, "turgid, bombastic, prolix, and frequently purple". "Each

letter", he goes on, "must be regarded a riddle, for not only it

is couched in veiled language, in which the meaning depends on

allusions known only to the correspondents, but the sentences

themselves are often so involved that the writer has entangled

himself in the meshes of his own verbosity. The reader has frequen-

tly to group his way labouriously from the subject, for a distance

of nearly a page, through an intricate maze of subordinate and

sub-subordinate clauses, before he can draw breath at the finite

verb that closes the period. The clauses have to be bracketed off

like fractions of Algebra, before the meaning can be disentangled.

Not infrequently the reader fails to reach his goal, for the writer

losing himself in the labyrinth of his multiloquence, has never

arrived at the finite verb at all". Phillet seems to be more cheer

of what he is about than Beveridge. The defect about his argument

is that he has attached too much importance to the reader to the

negligence of the writer. He tries to find out his own likings in

the works of other writers and when fails, he becomes stinging,

arrogant and abusive.

Blochmann appreciated Abul Fadl for his being so peculiar

that he has never fully been limited. "His composition stands

unique, "says he, "and though every where studied, he cannot be,

and has not been limited"(1). Such misconceptions will prolong

so long as no satisfactory theory of value is evolved.

In fact it is very difficult for a critic to forego his own likes and dislikes, the situation became precarious when personal motives stealthily enter in and encourage idiosyncratic judgement to the negligence of normative.

Naathir-ul-Umara has a different story to tell.

Naathir-ul-Umara has a different story to tell. Gatil discusses the characteristics of his prose as. (2)

The first of the two remarks is nearer reality than the other quotations already cited. Shah Nawaz Khan (Samsam-ud-Dawlah) knew only two well where, Abul Fadi differed from the ordinary munshis. Philot and his fellow scholars, it seems, would have used the same empty phrases for any oriental writer because for them it was a sufficient reason of his badness that he did not care for the likes and dislikes of an audience separated by about nine centuries. Gatil's remarks mainly throw light on the grammatical peculiarity of Abul Fadi's style. Ghani supports the learned minister in the following words:

"His ornate style serves to cover his political intentions as a practical administrator and to please people and win their sympathy, for he knew too well that to write in their accredited style and language would ensure better popularity and acceptance of his views. There will not be found in wanting in his diction

Notes. (1) Shah Nawaz Khan Samsam-ud-Dawlah (Naathir-ul-Umara) vol. II. p. 624.  
(2) Gatil. (Char Sharbat) p. 66.

any adjectival phrase or title--that he has not used for Akbar. This shows that his style was not merely ornate but had a definite political significance--He was a shrewd statesman and saw the peril and temptations of the rival kings against the Mughal empire. So he worked as a devoted servant of Akbar to-ward off this danger by all possible means" (1). The defect lies in the fact that criticism has stretched the argument too far. Abul Fazi's style has no possible link with the accredited style of the people. It is a radical change, a deviation from the old order. But it was dazzling and monstrous to the extent that all were stunned with its spell (The rest of the argument is remarkably true).

( ) HIS STATE CORRESPONDENCE.)

tells us, he tried his utmost to deviate from the

path of previous writers(2). His galvanizing activity in Akbar

Namah, Ain and Awar-i-Danish does throw a light on how he achieved

his end through the classical grandeur of his pen. Abullah Khan

Uzbek we are told had feared Abul Fazi's pen more than Akbar's

arrow (3). His letters nowhere fall short of the position of

diplomatic documents. They are carefully designed, surreptitiously

clever and fraudulently effective. The sonorous majesty of his

documents, under the garb of length and unbroken sentences, dazzles

the mind and rejects any idea of its being the result of a

cold calculated scheme of ideas.

Notes. (1) Ghani (Mughal Lit). vol. III. p. 230, 231.

(2) Abul Fazi (Insha) darter. III. p. 283.

(3) Blochmann uses the word arrow while Muhammed Husain

Azad says it was 'sword' (see. Mughalistan-1-Fars. p. 104



But as a careful study of these documents would show, they loose their emotional purity and turn out to be dry, bloodless, mummies of Egypt. At a second or a third reading it compelles the reader to throw aside the book, yawning and feeling sleepy. It may be a pleasurable reading for a historian, but it is uninteresting for a student of literature who is too anxious to keep alive his first impression of the book in its second or third reading.

In court documents the magic of Abul Fadi is too superficial to be called a great achievement. The vocabulary in all his compositions is limited and parenthetical clauses so regular and significant that after a perusal of one or two letters nothing remains hidden. As compared with other writers of Persian literature he is easily manageable. His ornate is not like that of Wassa' or Khuraw because he never tries to deceive his readers. (HIS THIRD PARTER) It is in his third darter of the Insha, especially the first 57 pages, that he stands head and shoulders above his contemporaries. No other writer except Zuhuri can face him in this respect. Among the inhabitants of Illiput he stands aloof like a Greek God, a Plato (Greek) a Montaigne (French). He carries away his readers in the dream land of his mystic trance, makes them weep or laugh at will. He has paid here) contrary to his court publications) no attention to selection, massing and phrasing. He records all his contemplations as these occurred to him. In each of these stray pieces a definite impetus has aroused an emotional mood and led Abul Fadi in its

swing to regions unexplored by oriental writers. Free association of ideas, the most perfect and yet the most dangerous of all the ways of expression, has been adopted by Abul Fadi as a vehicle of communication of the subtlest reactions of his emotional experiences. It was a dangerous departure from tradition, but he atonce imprints upon the mind of the reader that such a departure was inevitable.

He has nowhere run the risk of being misunderstood. His train of ideas has a logical link behind it, never so

subjective as to lift his experience entirely out of normal comprehension. But no where (in these pages) has logic been taken as an instrument of thinking. He has adopted emotions as the guiding force and the sequence follows it.

Thus this small collection of introductions to anthologies, endings and stray pieces is a remarkable achievement. After one reading the interest of the reader brings home fresh streams of emotions and each time the interest is intensified by the hidden mystery of the content. In a single reader the pieces are competent to adjust interest at different levels. Thus this portion makes a pleasant reading at all times and always.

### D E C A N.

At Akbar's accession to the throne of the Mughals in upper India in 963 A.H. the five Decani states were still holding power.

Imad Shahi ended in 980 A.H. and lost their territory to the Nizam Shahi who in turn had to merge in the Mughal Sultanate in 1004 A.H. Adil Shahi Barid Shahi and Qutub Shahi perished in 1014 A.H., 1097 A.H. and 1098 respectively. It shows that Akbar started his conquests in the Decan very late. Since the rise of Bahmani Decan had risen to importance and leading men of Iran (scholars, poets, administrators) found great attraction there. Political relations too had been established by the Decanis with the rulers of Iraq, Gilan and even the Timurids of Iran (Shah Rukh's embassy in 845 A.H.) to Bijapur is an example). Thus it kept the torch of literature burning in a critical moment of Persian history.

Long after Timur's invasion when northern India again rose to prominence in its patronage, we still find instances of writers moving towards the Decan. During Akbar period the balance swings to the other side but it does not let the Decan remain without scholars. Zuhuri's third preface throws enough light on the literary activities in the Decan. Burhan-ul-Mulk had detained Malik Gummil and Zuhuri when Fajdi had invited them to proceed towards

Lahore (1).

ZUHURI ( ) Besides his poetry Nur-ud-Din Muhammad Zuhuri

d. 1025 A.H.)

(b. 944 A.H. (1). d. in 1025 (2). )

Geint (3) compiled

in his later life three prefaces e.g. Nawras, Gulzar-i-Ibrahim and

Khwan-i-Khaili (4). He is also the author of Risala der Insha(5)

an other preface (6) Waqiat-i-Zuhuri wa Yak Risalah-i-Digir(7) a

letter to the poet Mad'ih (8) a letter to Faidi (9), Panjab Hudgeh

(12) and Mina bazar.

Muhammad Husain Azad doubts the authenticity of attributing

Panjab-Hudgeh to Zuhuri. He believes Mina Bazar as a book written by

Iradat Khan Wadh (10). Gatti's rejection of Mina Bazar is on the

ground that the style is different from Zuhuri's. He further makes

an interesting observation(11).

Notes. (5) Nakra (Thesis on Zuhuri MS). fol. 27 (ref. Nawvi Asaf

Ali and preserved in Asiatic Society of Bengal Cat.

p. 64. Not mentioned by Ivenow.)

(6) Ibid fol. 23. (ref. Etche. p. 820-21).

(9) Sir Nathur, Abdur Razzaq. ed. p. 4 (Also supposed to

have been addressed to Abul Faqir, see Masrifi. No. 5

vol. 59).

(7) Ae-allyah. p. 131.

(8) Bankipure 2. Sup. p. 103.

(1) He wrote in 1014:

میں نے ۱۰۱۴ھ میں

which gives his age as 70. thus he was born in 944 A.H.

(2) Nahawandi (under Zuhuri). p. 393.

(3) Masrifi. No. 5. vol. 59. (article Zuhuri ka Nauaid by

Nazir Ahmed).

(4) Hsu. vol. 11. p. 821 and Add. 25660. and also Hsu

vol. 11. p. 741. Banki vol. 2. supp. 214 ( )

(10) Azad (Mitaristan-i-Fars) p. 143.

(11) Gatti (Char Sharbat) p. 67.

(12) Hsu vol. 793 V. fol. 125-135.



میرزا قاسم خان (میرزا قاسم خان) - در این کتاب (میرزا قاسم خان) -  
در این کتاب (میرزا قاسم خان) - در این کتاب (میرزا قاسم خان) -  
در این کتاب (میرزا قاسم خان) - در این کتاب (میرزا قاسم خان) -  
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در این کتاب (میرزا قاسم خان) - در این کتاب (میرزا قاسم خان) -

Thus indirectly hinting at the other two works as also written by Wadhwa (3). The contents of Wadhwa-1-Zuhuri wa Yak Misal-1-diger is not known to us, we cannot say for definite whether it is a separate work or occurs in the above list under any other name.

ZUHURI AND HIS SIB NATHR )

A European may be stunned at the very sight of such a prose, for his special dislike of pathetic fallacies (1) and euphuism already known to him through the writings of Ily (1554-1606 A.D. 962-1015 A.H.) and Sidney (1554-86 A.D. 962-995 A.H.) (2) when he finds its excessive use in Zuhuri.

Notes. (1) Pathetic Fallacy: "habit of transferring our own mental and emotional states to the things which we contemplate". Hudson (Int. to the study of Lit.) p. 107

(2) Legouis (A short history of English Lit) p. 84-88-where in the writer says Ily is a curiosity of literary history, but I think we have nothing to be curious about them. The oriental influences entered their writings probably through Spain. The period falls parallel to Mughals.

(3) The Punjab University Library has a collection of letters of Zuhuri. (see. p. 4 x 66. 5 a where the transcriber calls it Qissa-i-Husno Ishaq) it comprises only 5 folios of the whole manuscript, the rest of the book is a collection of Zuhuri's correspondence. (see. Ibid folio last). Both the booklets were transcribed during the reign of Shah Alam (1203 A.H.). The opening letter of the second is the same as in Wadhwa's Panj Huga Letter. The first Misala--is the third letter of same.

way so common and yet so unlike others.

He had a love for his master and was ready to honour him in a

The emotions are sustained, comprehensive and deep.

It was ready to retrospect in a disciplined and compact manner.

ings. The flood of emotions had passed over and his mature judgement

youngful passions which is the life blood of all poetic undertak-

assess by it. His grim old looks still retained that purity of

of his powers very late in life. But he was the last to be embur-

age as his Masnu represented the past centuries. He came to know

ness of the newness of the new. His Tazagol represented his own

perfect manner. He had a love for the old along with a conscious-

because he had to say something of his own and he said it in a

Masnu but Zuhuri travelled on it without falling in its snare

hesitatingly. It is risky to rely upon so beaten a track as the

is the beginning of the magic that makes its way directly and un-

task easy. But this directness, this accessibility is not all. It

words patterns our attention in a unified whole and makes our

read. More easy than his contemporaries, because the music of

and contemporary) facilitates to understand him. He is easy to

directness of speech which he shares with other writers (both past

he rather guides it towards a goal never fully apprehended. The

a consciousness of a worn out tradition. He is not slave to it,

expected of such an endeavour. His prefaces are not the result of

but the total result is quite different from the one, usually

where does his excellence lie? He is unoriginal in his approach

(*Waw-l-Matuf*), double adjectives and all the tricks of Badi. Then

sense of an infinitive and verbal noun. (*Waw-l-Matuf*) compound Nouns

ily leaves out the subject (*Waw-l-Matuf*). He is fond of giving the

he omits conjunctions (*Waw-l-Matuf* and *Waw-l-Matuf*) and occasionally

only achievement in the form of *Tawall Idarat*. Like a rapid talker

has got something not yet realized by those who find in him the

In this respect he is not better than an ordinary munshi. But he

seems to indulge in all tricks contained in the term 'artifice'.

Zuhuri did not deviate from the usual way of expression and

Thus he wrote *Shi Nathr* (three essays) to a "book of songs composed by Ibrahim 'Adil Shah under the title *Nauras* (1)". These three pieces are his best prose works. The material has been arranged carefully and sentences knitted together accurately, but no where has this undue care blunted the total effect. The figurative touch is also there, but all such formal elements combine in to a single response. The key to this effect is the rhythm. It is patterned regular and inextricably mingled up with the ideas expressed that we cannot differentiate whether our mental activity is being controlled by the author through sound aspect or the meaning aspect of sentences. The words that sound flat and un-

how common place, how cheap they look at the very outset but

notice their extraordinary sonnet in Zuphant:

He gives new power to ordinary words, make a new combinations thereof, culls new sets of phrases out of them (2) thus the magic works on, never awkward, never displeasing (3).

- Notes. (3) But was he conscious of all this? We think he was not, otherwise it would have diminished the effect of his compositions. We are unable to explain the working of the unconscious without describing it in terms of conscious mental activity. Therefore we cannot avoid the use of such phrases as "He gives new powers" or "He makes new phrases" and the like.
- (1) Ghani (A history of Persian Language and Literature. at the Mughal court) part III (Akbar) Chapter II. p. 194. The learned writer informs us of a copy of Nauras preserved in the Rampur State Library.
- (2) Note the following sets of words.



(1014 A.H. to 1118 A.H.)

DECLARATION.

Chapter VIII.

Akbar's reign was a spark that kindled a long prepared train.

The scholars from Iran continued to come to India because Akbar's

successors offered a powerful bait in the form of robes of honour,

titles, jagirs and cash money. In Iran the Safawids were engaged in

patronizing carpet weaving, textile arts, architecture philosophy.

Theology and Shia literature. Thus the scope of literary writers was

very limited. There are instances when the Safawi kings positively

discouraged all literature that did not have Shia tendencies, forget-

ting totally that the greatest difficulty with emotions is that when

we try to catch them up they melt into nothingness. As compared to

this, in India, poetry, prose, painting and architecture all enjoyed

court patronage, and "any man could profess any thing whether the

religion allowed it or not" (1). Moreover they could get here the

audience that was ready to license prospects of progress for them.

Jahangir, Shah Jahan (4) and Aurangzeb's reign can show to its credit

a fairly long list of nobles, Indian writers and poets, prepared from

Matkhana (Abdun Nabi) Sarw-i-Āzad (Āzad Bilgrami), Kalimat ush Shuara

(Sarkhush) and Ma'a thir-i-Kahimi (Samsam-ud-Dawlah Shah Nawaz Khan)

(3). After Shah Abbas's death, though all the arts continued to

flourish but a steadily weakening impulse continued (2). So in some

respects, at least, it is not incorrect to say that Persia ceased to

live after Shah Abbas's death. The following remark of Ali Quli Salim

is not baseless:

Besides the Mughul court the patronage of Khan-i-Khanan and

Shahk Farid continued under Jahangir, under Shah Jahan, Zafar Khan

became a patron of writers both Indian and Iranian.

Notes. (1) Nehawandi p. 733.

(2) Pope. p. 1213.

(3) The number of such writers defies numerical representation.

(4) It is interesting to note that under Shah Jahan scholars

came to India in spite of the fact that the Mughal & Kashmiri

roots had lost their importance due to the disturbed state

of affairs on the frontier (due to Gander dispute) see. Pant

p. 183 and although the reign of the Delhi ruler was dis-

tinguished by number of famines (see Ibid p. 185 & p. 193) and no

encouragement to trade was offered (see. Ibid p. 201) except

that of opium and salt petre (Ibid).

Not only were Iranian writers patronized they found in India an audience which was ready to accept any new trick of prose or poetry that was offered to them. There were certain Mughals in Iran such as Jahir Wahid who never came to India, but the majority of writers did come and we shall revert to non immigrants at the end of this chapter. In the beginning let us analyse the streams of influences working in the literature of this period.

The literary output of this period though excelling in its amount from all the previous ages, in its literary excellence is second to the Ghaznavi period, Seljuq period and Akbar period. The period generally reviewed, is, in its achievement, second rate, and there is a certain amount that can definitely be put in the category of third rate literature. This amount of literature would ordinarily lead us to the temptation of discussing these books at full detail but their literary value is not so great as to allow even a brief review of all these documents. This period is rich in books on the Art of Insha, Insha literature, books for children collections and history works. But no work is important enough for our present purpose to allow a detailed discussion except the writings of Brahman, Munir, Jughra, Nasir, Jalala, Harkaran Aurengezeb, Madhu Ram, Bedel, Nizam Khan Ali, Iradat Khan, Jahir Wahid and Zahir--but the works of these writers too, though not wholly bad are not devoid of elements of deterioration. Therefore the present chapter though covering a period of speeded up literary activity, will confine itself to works of second rate authors. It will be brief and sketchy so that it may not dim the literary importance of other periods preceding it.



Persian literature (1), Tadrisi element and (11) Syllabic way of expression. These were two direct results, there are certain indirect results besides. Akbar's age gave rise to a distinct class of Indian nobility who henceforth tried to get back its lost prestige under Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. Jahangir's reign witnesses their powerful rise under the leadership of Mahabat Khan. It was a reaction against the powerful rule of Nur Jahan which had "led to a reshuffling of the political equation (1)". But it should carefully be noted that Mahabat Khan's chief supporters were the Hindu chieftains. More than this the period of Shah Jahan sees clear traces of dissatisfied Hindu nobility (2). Thus it appears that a class was coming into being whom Aurangzeb had to face. The (Iran) (Turani) clash which had entered the religious sphere also and originated under Akbar was still lingering on secretly and consistently. The Radd-i-Khawid is an instance (3). This belief were gaining ground through Asaf Khan and his supporters (4) as against the increasing power of the Nadir-bandi order of the Sunnis. Under Shah Jahan it was left more or less unchecked. Under Aurangzeb it suddenly took the shape of a regular political party (5) and the age realized it in Ali and other nobles who won the game in the person of the successor of Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb's period brought to light for the first time all the dissatisfied elements to the forefront when he took up war against the Deccan states. This states in the Deccan were not only encouraged but were supported by the Shah of Persia (6). Naturally the Shia nobility in the Mughal territory could not appreciate the plans of Aurangzeb.

## Notes.

- (1) Sherma (Mughal Empire in India) p. 389.
- (2) Shibbi (Aurangzeb Alamgir) p. 52. (on the authority of Shah Jahan Nema of Abdul Hamid Lahauri).
- (3) The author of the book was Mujaddid Ali Khan.
- (4) Ikram (Rud-i-Kawthar) p. 129.
- (5) Shibbi (Aurangzeb Alamgir) p. 68.
- (6) Najib Ashraf p. 276, 277 (on the authority of Insha-i-Tahrir Wahidi).

The clash of ideologies gave to literature of this period an element of irony. The ironical utterances of Mulla Shaida (1), Tughra Nushadi (2) and Ali (3) against their contemporaries are signs of an age where no body could profitably avoid being controversial.

(TADRI'S) Akbar had started reorganizing the whole system of educa-

tion. The work of educating Hindus in Persian was also started about 990 A.H. Muhammad. b. Shamsud Din was the first to realize the impor-  
tance of book on the Art of Insha in 995 A.H. and this is perhaps the only instance when the theory was given any preference over practice. Translation work had been carried on under Akbar along with the creative literature and though the former never fully stopped yet the later came to an end with the rise of Akbar's successors. During the reign of Jahangir's successor poetry was not very much encouraged at the court (6) thus there are some poets who earned their living through their prose style; Munir, Brahmanand Jalala are examples. Munir could not but envy the memory of Khan Khanah (7) Aur-

angzeb went to the extent of abolishing the post of Mali Khush Shuara; But the general taste of the people cannot abide by laws. To revert to our topic this Tadri'sh activity tried its utmost to curb the originality of writers. Where-ever it could not directly succeed in its devastation, it diverted their energies towards wrong channels. The popularity of Hazilyyat is an instance. Both in India and Iran there were poets who wrote this type of verse (4). In prose the examples are too common to be mentioned here in detail. The dictionaries of later mughul period contain fairly long lists of technical terms with sexo-metaphorical meaning (5).

Tadri's element in its direct form was a source of three types of Insha books (1) books on the art of Insha (11) books of Insha literature (11) and books with Epistolary models designed and written for the specific purpose of training in style. Out of these three no (1) already been discussed. No. (111) are too unoriginal to be discussed and need only a passing mention.

Notes. (1) Sarkhush p.56,57. see also Azad (Nigari'stan-1-Pars) under Shaid. (2) See. Arzu (Nafais) under Tughra. (3) See his Waga, Hajar-w-1-Nukama and Mughlikat. (4) Shaida (in Azad's Nigari'stan); Ali in his Mughlikat and Waga; Mashriqi (see Azad (Sarw) p.59); in Iran, Shafai (see Ibid p.47) Shaida (in Sarkhush p.58) for Najat & Rawqi see Lavy (per.Lit) pp.96,97 (5) see Mustafiat us Shuara, Farhang-1-Ahang (Haj and Madhar ul Ajab for words like..... etc etc. (6) Munir (Insha) p.55. (7) Ibid.



No. (11) will be discussed at its proper place. For the present let us trace the influence of the Tadhiri element on it.

This period is rich in commentaries on the writers of the previous age. In schools the regular courses under Akbar and Shah Jahan were based on these very works. The commentaries written on these show that the individuality which had so much been the basis of the literature of Akbar's period is very rare in the centuries that follow. Books for school children abound (1), each one of these is a copy of the other, in title, in content and even in treatment. These school manuals make clear the situation that Persian was a foreign language for the people residing in India and they had to learn it up with their own language as the medium of expression. The literary class (leaving aside foreigners) and nearly all the public had to learn it. Thus the tendency towards the galvanizing aspect of language was very common. A foreigner if he wanted to be popular had to care for the general taste. The selection and adoption of vocabulary was suggested by the popularity of previous masters and as the compilation of more than two dozen of commentaries on Hafez under Jahangir (3) and that of Rumi's Mathnawi under Shah Jahan would tell us, the works of Nasir, Jalala, Jughara, Munir and Brahman bear traces of these past masters on their vocabulary. Even the trend of thought of the age is not wholly free from the

Notes. (1) Shahrastani (Proceedings of Idara-i-Ma'arif-i-Islamiyat) 1933. pp. 51-140, and also Panjab Men Urdu p. 81.

(2) For Abul Fadi see Shahr-i-Mukatabat-i-Abul Fadi (Shahrastani p. U.L. 892) by Abul Fadi Muhammad Malahat, Shahr Abul Fadi by Miran Fadi (Shahrastani p. U.L. 245), Miran Fadi by Sh. Muhammad Ali Farrukhi (the work was dedicated to Jahangir see Hieu vol. 11. p. 836 Add 16851 I coll. 2-92); Basatin ul Lughat by Muhammad Said Kamboh (iv. A.S.B. p. 155) (also Banki 11/1011. 120-266. p. 207 and cc. A.S.B. p. 134); Nafi ut Tabdin (cc. A.S.B. p. 122) by Muhammad Hafez Farhang-i-Abul Fadi by Abul Minan cc. A.S.B. p. 123 Shahr by M. Ghilani Din see! - By Sahbat (Shahrastani p. U.L. 348) Shahrastani p. U.L. 104; by Abul Kham (Shahrastani p. 125); Miran Muhammad Sadullah (Ibid) (3) use of opium by Rajputs and Muslims. see. Panjab. 197.



Besides Hafiz and Rumi the other popular writers were Amir

Khusrav Abul Fadl and Zuhuri. These three writers of prose were not

only read and commented (2) they were also imitated .

The popularity of these led to a regular class of prose writers

who took them to be their models. Thus we find that Abdul Hamid Lahauri

imitated Abul Fadl (1). Similarly, Abdu Samad and (2) Brahman (3), have

been accredited for their imitation of the great writer. Khusrav has been

copied by Tughra, Ali and Munir of Lahore (5) and Nasira (4). Zuhuri

was widely read and copied in India and the traces of his style can

easily be found in nearly all the writers of this period. Bedil and

Iradat Khan's styles are improvements upon the original models. These

poor imitators appear on the stage of literature only to receive cat-

calls. They ~~prevail~~ copied diligently and unhesitatingly--

a fact throwing light on the attitude of the age. The writers of Jahan-

gir period, much interested in the poetry of Hafiz, have got a peculiar

tinge of melodious and colourful vocabulary, along with the grammatical

peculiarities and other formal structure of Zuhuri, Abul Fadl and

Khusrav. The reign of Shah Jahan is wellknown for the study of Rumi.

The mystical element in prose and poetry combined with the verbal

melodies of the reign preceeding it, introduced ardour to the stinking

literary atmosphere. This aspect though dominant in all good prose

writers is not far from its disadvantages because it was not wholly free

from the thought of conscious and planned imitation. These tendencies

less faced a death-blow at the hands of Aurangzeb when the emperor

waged war against the study of Dham-i-Hafiz. He was not very success-

ful because, "General historical circumstances are more potent than

the strongest individuals (6)". The mystic element did not die out, it

survived though of course defaced and changed.

Notes.

- (1) Gabah-ud-Din (Basm-i-Taymuriyyah) p. 218.
- (2) See his introduction to Insha-i-Abul Fadl.
- (3) Muhammad Salih (Amal-i-Salih) MS fol. 13.
- (4) Arzu (Majma-un-Nafais) fol. 933.
- (5) Arzu (Majma-un-Nafais) fol. 865.
- (6) Plekhanov (The role of individual in history). p. 21.



It is a good description of the situation though the judgement pronounced relies on external cannons of criticism. Why to condemn jewels for the reason that they cannot be eaten?---so long as the utilitarian out-look over-shadows our reasoning we can not save ourselves from the onslaught of direct gain to the negligence of the indirect. It is absurd to expect from emotional prose or poetry that it will teach us the exact use of handling a motor car or a railway engine. All that it can do or it should do is to organize or at the most to satisfy our emotions.

LITERARY CENTRES.) During the reign of Akbar, Lahore had risen to prominence as a literary centre along with Agra and Sikri. Under Jahangir and after, Sikri also achieved the position of a centre of literary activity. The dominating personality of Mulla Abdul Hakim of Sikri exerted great influence on the generation that now rose to importance. After Sikri Kashmir enjoyed this literary position because many Sufi scholars took that place as their permanent abode. Mughal rulers especially Jahangir used to spend much of his time there. After Jahangir, Zafar Khan the Governor carried on patronizing scholars at Kashmir. Kashmir the land of gardens was a source of inspiration for poets and Insha writers. It gave to literature some very excellent poems and tolerably good prose pieces.



INSHA LITERATURE.) Insha-1-Tarabue Sibyan by Nuh-ud-Din Muhammad in A.H. 1037 A.H. (1), Insha-1-Ayar-1-Danish (2), Zubdatul Insha (completed in A.H. 1027 by an unknown author) (3), Beit-1-Ash-raf Maani by Muhammad Nasirul Imam al Hamdani (Nasira Hamdani?) (4) (The author died in 1030 A.H. The book contains "models of composition in ornate prose and epistolary style", Munshat-1-Radi by Mulla Muhammad Radi Mustawfi (1054 A.H.) (5), Maqal-1-araid by Chander Bhan Brahman (6), Khass-ul-Insha by Mulla Jamil (contains "forms of letters for various occasions and on various topics collected in Alamgir's reign A.H. 1074" (7)) "Models of familiar letters addressed to relations, friends and officials of inferior rank", by Hadiqi in the year 1077 A.H. (8). "Jamii-ul-Qawanin or Insha-1-Khalifa by Khalifa Shah Muhammad Gharawi ("Specimens of letters to illustrate the various branches of epistolography", "It was a much used book in schools although its style has no great merit" (9), Nigar Namah-1-Munshat Malik Zadeh in 1095 A.H. (10) ("comprising authors own compositions of other munshis, principally of those of Shaikh Teliyar ud-Din munshat of Rustam Khan and of Amnat Khan"), Insha-1-Abdur Rasul ("containing instructions on letter writing and a collection of synonymous words and phrases in epistles" (11), Shawq Anizi (auth- or unknown) written before A.H. 1105, ("Forms of letters to parents, friends, superiors, together with answers from the same" (12).

Notes. (1) Ethe p. 1143.

- (2) Ibid,
- (3) Ethe p. 1142 No. 2065.
- (4) cc. A.S.B. p. 125 No. 140 II. 277.
- (5) Banki II, p. 110 part IV & VI.
- (6) Asatlyah. p. 136.
- (7) Ethe p. 1154, 2095, 2096.
- (8) Ethe p. 1154, 2095, 2096.
- (9) Ethe p. 1154, 2095, 2096.
- (10) Ethe p. 1154, 2095, 2096.
- (11) Bod. L. Cat. p. 847. No. 1396 several dates occur in the text e.g. A.H. 1068, A.H. 1098, A.H. 1099.
- (12) Ethe. p. 1157.

Karnameh-1-Waqiah by Hindu in 1116 A.H. (1). Insha-1-Ram Chand Munshi (about 1116-1138 A.H.) (2) Insha-1-Faid Bakh completed by Sher Ali alie Sher Hamish in A.H. 1118 (3) Insha-1-Ajib composed in 1118 A.H. by Muhammad Jafar (4) Muntakhab-1-Walith compiled by Akber in 1130 A.H. (5) Insha-1-Zarbakhsh by Sayyid Muhammad Djal Khulasehul Makatib by Sultan Rafi Batalwi (it is a "rich collection of specimens of refined prose style" (7)) Murid-ul-Insha by Lekh Raj Munshi (A.H. 1110 A.H.) (8) Darul Uloom compiled by Gopal Rai Surdas (Surdas?) (9). Besides these epistolary models the period is rich for number of collections (Bayadat) and works of Insha. To mention the last group we have long list of the following titles. Letters by Nur-ud-Din (the nephew of Abul Fajl) (10) (the dates of which range from 1025-1037 A.H.), (Makubut-1-Ahmad Faruqi Magshbandi (b. 971 A.H. d. 1034 A.H.) (its first volume comprising 313 letters was collected by Yafar Muhammad in 1025 A.H. "relating to "Sufic doctrines and mystical matters" (11), Ahmed Faruqi was a pupil of Sh. Bagh Magshbandi and the father of Kh. Muhammad Said and Kh. Muhammad Masum. The second volume of Abul Bagh's letters was made by Abdul Hayy and comprises (12) letters (12)

Notes. (1) Etne. p. 1158 No. 2110

(2) Etne vol. p. 1598.

(3) Etne 1158.

(4) IV. A.S.B. p. 166. & P.U.L.

(5) Etne p. 1159.

(6) Etne p. 1159.

(7) Etne p. 1157 also P.U.L.

(8) Bod. L. Cat. p. 849.

(9) Bod. L. Cat. p. 850.

(10) Rieu vol. 11. 843. Add. 18882. I. fol 1-14.

(11) Banki. 16. p. 70 No. 1392 and Etne Ind. office No. 1890.

(12) Banki. 16. p. 71.

Tasniyat-i-Tughra (1) we shall treat him separately; Munshat-i-Nasira Hamdani (2) (we shall discuss it separately); Naql-i-Arsh by Abul Hasan Aser Khan (3); Insha-i-Harkaran or Irshad ut talibin by Harkaran Multani (between 1034 and 1040 A.H.) "containing models of correspondence" (4) Naṭh-i-Jalala Tabatabai (5) (to be discussed later on); Insha-i-Aman Ullah Husaini or Hudat-i-Husaini or Inshat-i-Husaini or Insha-i-Khanzad Khan the author died in 1044 A.H. or 1046 A.H. "the work contains various letters and notes on Sufic questions" (6). The letters are dull and important only from the point of view of a student of history or sociology; Munshat-i-Munir (7) (will be discussed separately); Nasail-i-Makalib dar Suluk by Shakh Abdul Haq Muhaddith of Delhi (8) (to be discussed later on); Tafzir ul Marasim by Shah Haji Muhammad Shukrullah Pahlawi, collected by his disciple Zahir, "The letters are 160 in number (and) relate exclusively to religious and mystical subjects and consist partly of questions put to the author by some of his contemporaries and disciples" (9); Tuhfa-i-Shah Jahani by Muhammad Afshan Bilgrami (10)

- Notes. (1) Iv. A.S.B. p. 162. No. 371, 372, 373. Bombay. L. Cat. p. 279. cc. A.S.B. p. 128, Bod. L. Cat. (1389) (1390) p. 844, 45, 46. Hsu vol. 11, p. 875 or 319 II foll. 2-57 Hsu. vol. II, p. 742 Add. 16852. Banki 9. p. 81 No. 871. Browne & Rose p. 112 CLXXXVI Bod. D. Cat. p. 245; 1389-90. Shahrastani P.U.L. No. 294. Shahrastani P.U.L. No. 478. (2) Shahrastani P.U.L. No. 136. (3) Asatirah. p. 136. (4) Etne p. 146, 47. p. 154. Iv. A.S.B. 363 II. 321. 141 p. 125 Hsu vol. II p. 530 Rose and Browne p. 112 CLXXXVII and CLXXXVIII Asatirah p. 118. Shahrastani P.U.L. 1401, 981, 1010, 1212, 1401. Banki. 2. Sup. p. 134. VI. foll. 157-162 & also VII. foll. 163-167. (5) Etne p. 1593 vol. I. He is also the author of Insha-i-Husain wa Fawaid-i-Muhammadiyah. see Shahrastani P.U.L. No. 484. Etne p. 1147. Or. 1410 p. 877 II foll. 52-102. (7) For Nigistan. see Etne p. 1148. (collected in 1050 A.H.) Nawbahar. Etne p. 1149. Iv. A.S.B. p. 161, Shahrastani P.U.L. No. 643, 668, 1150, 1335, 1391, Karistan. Shahrastani P.U.L. No. 1346, 758, and 1404. Hudat-i-Munir, Insha-i-Munir. Shahrastani P.U.L. 1268. Munadirat-i-Munir. Shahrastani P.U.L. No. 548. (8) Banki 16 p. 67 also Etne No. 1894. Hsu Vol. 111. p. 1027 XIV. foll. 230-243. (9) Hsu. vol. I. p. 414. (10) Asatirah p. 120 the fixation of the period is conjectural.



Ruq'at-1-Abdul Latif by Abdul Latif bin Abdullah Abbot of Gujrat the famous commentator of Rumi, is a rare collection of official letters (1), Munshat-1-Tahir Wahid (Iren) (2) (to be taken up in the course of this chapter); Letters of Shakh Mujibullah Al-ahabadi to Dara Shukoh (3), Ruq'at-1-Brahman, or Charchaman and Munshat-1-Brahman etc. etc. by Chandar Bhan Brahman (4) (to be taken up again); Amber Namah by Muglma (5), Mukatabat-1-Muglma (6) compiled in 1068 A.H.), Letters of Khan Jahan Sayyid Muzaffar Khan (about 1055 A.H.) (7); Bahar-1-Sakun by Muhammad Salih Kamboh (8) (1074 A.H.); Maktabat-1-Muhammad Masum (son of Mujaddid al-Irfan) d. A.H. 1077 or 1079 or 1080, "the Letters are on various topics of Sufism, especially on the doctrines of the Naqshbandi order and are addressed to a great number of persons" (9) Hadrat Widad by Izzat Baksh Nasa (the letters range from 1084-1103 A.H.) (10); Ruq'at-6-Mughnikat-1-A'la (11) and Manthurat-1-A'la (12) (we shall revert to this author again);

Notes. (1) IV. A.S.B. p. 159. a rare collection of official letters apparently so far unnoticed in other libraries, which may be of some use for the detailed study of the history of Jahangir's reign and beginning of that of Shah Jahan".

- (2) Rieu vol. 11. p. 810. Bod. L. Cat. 1387, 1388, p. 843. P.U.L. No. 230.
- (3) Rieu vol. 11. p. 1048. Or. 2052. XII 111. 258-260. Shahrastani P.U.L. No. 1979. 729, 320. Ethe. p. 1153, 2093. Ethe. p. 1153, 2094. Asat'yah p. 114. Ethe vol. 11. p. 23. cc. A.S.B. p. 471 Bod. L. Cat. 843. Rieu. vol. 1. p. 397. See. Majalis un Nafais of Arzu fol. 546 and 933 and also Rieu vol. 11. p. 742.
- (6) IV. A.S.B. p. 161.
- (7) Rieu. vol. 11. p. 836.
- (8) Ethe p. 1152, No. 2090, 91, 92. Rieu. vol. 1. p. 398. Add. 5557. cc. A.S.B. p. 127. Shahrastani P.U.L. 1132, 2162 also No. 126.
- (9) Banki. 16. p. 71.
- (10) Rieu vol. 11. p. 935, Banki. 9. p. 101, Bedil had correspondence with him see. Ruq'at-1-Bedil.
- (11) Asat'yah. p. 126.
- (12) cc. A.S.B. p. 131. Rieu. vol. 11. p. 744, Banki 17. p. 42. II. fol. 55. 68, I. fol. 1-53. Banki 2 Sup. p. 215, p. 166, 205, 143. Asat'yah p. 116. Univ. Bombay. Cat. p. 48. 49. Shahrastani P.U.L. 2194, 1844, 381, 56, 1785. Rieu vol. II. p. 796, I. fol. 1-38, II, fol. 39-89, III. fol. 160-164.

Letters of Munsifi Sahibzad (in or about 1166 A.H.) (1); Hugaat-1-  
 Tahir Ghani (3); the preface to his diwan (4) by Munsifi, his pupil;  
 Nikat-1-Bedil and Hugaat-1-Bedil, Chahar unsur (5) (we shall take him  
 up again); Guldestan-1-Andasah by Abul Fath Muhammad Amir al Vekari at  
 Tebat al Yazdi (1078, 1081 A.H.) (6); A letter by Salb in praise of  
 Muhammad Khallil Fakhr (several of these addressed to Zebun Nisa the  
 daughter of Aurangzeb); Guldestan-1-Sakun by Mui Rafi Shawkat d. 1119  
 A.H. (edited by his son Jut Perkash in 1132 A.H.); Inshah Madhu Ram by  
 Madhu Ram, compiled in 1120 A.H. (9) and since the time of the author  
 widely read, circulated and copied in India, it was a source of great  
 mischief in style; Panj Huga-1-Iradat Khan Wadh (usually attributed to  
 Zuhuri); Mukattibat-1-Abid Khan (most of the letter are by the author  
 himself (10), Dibacha-1-Muraga-1-Zebun Nisa by Rashid (11), Dibacha to  
 Musawi Khan's anthology (12), Hugaat Musawi (15) Munshat-1-Shah Nawaz Khan  
 the author of Mahtir ul Umara (13) and Mahturat-1-Mirza Fasih (14) and

Notes. (1) Hsu vol. 111. p. 986.  
 (2) Univ of Bombay. p. 22-24. Browned. 195 CXVII. Add. 420. Asat-  
 lyah. p. 125. Hsu. Vol. I. p. 401. Hsu vol. I. p. 402. Hsu  
 vol. 11. p. 801. Hsu vol. 11. p. 858. Hsu vol. 1. p. 844.  
 Asatlyah. p. 122 (3 copies) IV. A.S.B. p. 165 Hsu vol. 1.  
 p. 399. Asatlyah p. 114. Hsu. vol. 111. p. 1049. IV. fol. 32  
 sqq. Hsu. vol. 11. p. 799. cc. A.S.B. p. 131. Shairani P.U.L.  
 No. 171, 234, 169, 172, 18. Hsu vol. 111. p. 1049. Shairani  
 P.U.L. No. 774, 2057, 1072, 497 IV. A.S.B. p. 167. Hsu. vol. 1  
 p. 400. Hsu vol. 111. p. 821 II fol. 34-85.  
 (3) Hsu vol. 11. p. 821 II fol. 34-85.  
 (4) Banki 2 sup. p. 230.  
 (5) IV. A.S.B. p. 167. No. 384-86. Ethe p. 159; IV. A.S.B. p. 168,  
 cc. A.S.B. p. 132. Banki vol. 9. p. 101. Shairani P.U.L. No. 1303  
 612. Ethe p. 1160; Hsu vol. 11. fol. 139-247. Shairani  
 P.U.L. 1451, 905, 654, 681 (contemporary).  
 (6) Sup. Hsu. p. 252.  
 (7) Asatlyah. p. 126.  
 (8) Hsu vol. 11. p. 828. Bod. L. Cat. p. 849. "This collection is  
 ascribed to the famous Shaikh Bayazid. But the superior char-  
 acter of the book is proved not only by the quite modern cont-  
 ents, but the address themselves (for instance Alaud Din of  
 Delhi, Muhammad Abid the commentator of Mathnawi A.H. 1100 A.H.  
 The writer is probably Kh. Muhammad Nur ulah (1108 A.H.)". I  
 think the letters are by Bayazid a contemporary of Aman ulah  
 Hsuani see pp. 21, 26, 27 styled as--  
 -most probable e.g. an addition of--who is very fond of  
 such allusions e.g. (9) cc. A.S.B. p. 131 Bod. L. Cat. p. 854  
 Shairani. P.U.L. 290, 801. (10) IV. A.S.B. p. 170. (11) Banki  
 11. p. 116. (12) Ibid. (13) Bombay Cat. p. 110, 111. (14) Banki  
 11. p. 116 (31). (15) Panjab University Library MS. No. A P 1  
 X 16. A rare collection. For details see the Appendix.

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several other letters of the writers of the period contained in the Bankt. 11, p. 116 No. 1098, p. 135. No, 1100, Bankt 9, p. 82. No. 872 (e.g. Muhammed al-Mahdi prose) ----- in praise of Aurangzeb.

This list does not pretend to be perfect. If a thorough study of all the minor works of this period be taken (especially of all the history

(works) the number will surely exceed all limits, Sarkhush mentions

Inayat Khan Ashna (1), and Muhammad Ismail Ghaffi Nazandani (2) as

These writers; similarly Azed adds to these the names of Haji Abdul Quli

Talibqam (3), Rafi Mirza Ahsan (4) S.M. Abdullah adds the names of Wali

Banwaji Des, Lechmi Narain, Wamiq (Ikhtas Khan), Sital Singh and Pindi

Das (5) and Mohammed Amin (6).

AMAN ULLAH (USANI IZED BAKH RASA)  
The letters of Aman Ullah are

AND UHNAI YAH. ) extremely prostatic, over loaded with

"pathetic fallacies", rich in trite vocabulary and often used phrases

(7) Among the Hindu writers of this period the names of Harkaran,

Brahman, Madhu Ram, Malikzadeh Munsht and Udhai Raj Munsht need be

•puot7uou

Apart from the historical value the works of Hindu writers are not

Very important, the language whether simple or veiled is effected, the

places lack method and homogeneity, in a word these books are crimes

\*ទុកជា ប្រភព រូបវន្ត

notes. (7) He has addressed them to the eminent persons of his period

Daud, the only date mentioned in the text is 985 A.H. Aman

! But upon an up again need say considered that

11/11/11

Amun Ullah Hussain, the great writer of the period was a

(continued from page 1)

(2) Ibid. p. 84.

(4) Ibid p. 107.

(6) Gebhard Dln (Bazn) p. 217.



These works have been used in India as courses for study and have led the readers to all those perversions of style that could take deterioration to its farthest end. These tried to perpetuate the transitory element of contemporary fashion. The works are (with the exception of Brahman) definitely of an inferior quality and we need not hesitate in placing them in the category of third-rate compositions.

MUJADDID  
AL-F-1-THANI,  
KH. MASUM AND  
(Khwajah Muhammad Masum and Abdul Haq Dehlawi,  
(however perfect the philosophic side of their documents may be) curiously enough their letters lack the spark of emotions which should be present in the work of the Sufis. Abdul Haq Muhammad took pains to be uninteresting and was successful in his aim. The letters of these saints are scientific and should not be taken to represent emotion. Mujaddid AL-F-1-THANI Shaikh Ahmad Sarhandi's letters have got some sparks of reveries if not genuine emotions. The eleventh letter is a good example. These Sufis had set themselves at educating their disciples that is why their letters usually stoop down to philosophic speculation rather than to record their emotional experiences.

Now let us take up the best writers of this period who fall in the rank and file of second rate authors. Their works lack consistent waves of emotions, they at times become accented at times normal, at times indulge in the mania of Tadhira and thus destroy the total effect of their prose pieces, at another time they drift towards vulgarity and yet at another time they fall head-long into the ocean of imitation. When they are at their best there too, the combination of the best elements with the common place is not avoidable.

Mulla Tughra or Shaitan(1). of Mashhad is the author of about 31 prose pieces, out of which 18 are available in printed edition.

Notes. (1) Arzu (Majma'un Hafais) fol. 546. Sarkhush (Kalimat) p. 70. Azad (Sarw) p. 42, p. 124.

His style is the blending of the vocabulary of Hafez, the intricacy and melody of Zuhuri and the stretching a figure of speech to the farthest limit (associationism) of Khusrav. Like Khusrav every paragraph is completed by verses, thus the flow is checked at every turn by repetitive method making the reading inconvenient. The element of irony is suppressed and curtailed by his veiled method of expression. His associationism at times becomes a source of pedantry. The prose pieces are tolerably good (especially Firdausiyah) and convey sustained emotions in a continued strain, except a tinge of rhyme cliché which is unavoidable due to the intricate mechanism of the formal structure.

Like Tughra, Nasir Hamdani too was a writer who shifted over to India and whose prose has been very popular over here (1). Tughra patronized him. His prose is "flowery with many versified passages, Muhammads etc. etc." (2). His colour effects are not so perfect as that of Tughra and show clear traces of Zuhuri's imitation.

Munir (3) is a much more faithful adherent to the fashions of the age, his double adjectives, his battalion of long epithets followed by short ones, are borrowed from Zuhuri, his Barat-i-Istihlal (the worst part of his imitations) is from Khusrav, His mind even in a single prose piece usually swings from one master to another thus making his style jerky and unharmonious. Where ever he is simple he is <sup>good</sup> ~~unharmonious~~ His conception of light, his love for the similes borrowed from water and the associated phenomena, and his love for cats (4), gives him a peculiar personality. But his usually simple and direct prose very often sounds jarring, monotonous and emotionless. Jalala's prose is Maulwistic (5) probably because he came from

Iraq. But his Nawlawyat was blended with colourful imagery and verble melodiest though on the whole the total effect is not very pleasant. His Shish Fath-i-Kangrah a description of Shah Jahan's conquest though novel in the sense that the writer has written it in six different styles, is not of great literary value.

Notes. (4) Munir (Insha) Letter No. 51. (3) O.C.M. (May 1927). Arzu (Majma) Vol. 866. (5) Arzu. (Nafais) Vol. 139. (1) Arzu (Nafais) Vol. 933. (2) cc. A.S.B. p. 125.

Brahman's (1) contribution to Persian literature is that he gave it a simple medium. It is true that at times his own writings rally to that of Abul Fadl but usually he is simple, and direct but poor in emotions.

AURANGZEB (3) is a curiosity of history and his letters cannot be fully appreciated without understanding his personality. Najib Ashraf's monograph throws a flood of light on his character and analyses the nature and development of his strained relations with his elder brother and Shah Jahan his father. His separation from his mother at the age of eight (1036 A.H.), his displeasure of Muhammad Na'isum, his loss of prestige at the court (between 1046 A.H.---1054 A.H.), his desire for denouncing the court life, insults heaped at the court on his son, constant censures given to him during his viceroyship into Deccan, all point to the difficulties of the situation he was in. He was insulted, he was feared, he was misjudged. The court at Delhi was under his elder brother Dara who was backed by the Rajputs (4). In such circumstances Aurangzeb had to cut his way. This gave to his writings the element of sarcasm and to his character a trait of doubting the sincerity of every man. The first gave a stingy character to his letters while the second made his position much more insecure than any one could imagine. Who is there to doubt the sharpness of the following remarks.

And again  
 remarks.  
 Generally the tone of letters is serious and grim and only occasionally breaks into such remarks.

- Notes. (1) Ahmad Ali Sindaliwi (Makhazan-ul-Gharib) MS. fol. 41 b. 42 a. Masrifi. No. 3 vol. 59, No. 2. vol. 61; No. 5. vol. 59. Abdullah p. 72.  
 (3) For detailed account of his works see. Najib Ashraf (Mugadamah-1-Ruqbat-1-Angir) p. 34 sqq.  
 (4) Najib Ashraf. p. 241.



His letters to his sons show certain signs of an affectionate father though there too the emperor is dominant over the father. And it is only after the complete failure of his Deccan campaigns that his letters to his sons show remarkable pathos. "A sense of failure, defeat and despair came over (him) in his closing years. His pathetic letters to his sons... breath regret and disappointment, there is also in them a note of uncertainty and disillusionment" (1) (2). These writings of his old age are simple direct and breathing with life. It is very rare that simple prose achieves such an height.

✓ Bedil the Indian-born writer of Persian prose and poetry (3)

is an example now in a monarchical state the ambitions of an energetic writer can take an indirect expression. His involved way of expressing his emotions, though not a departure from the ever increasing tendency of 'hair splitting' is surely a step forward (though of course towards a pit fall). He was appreciated in Turk-

istan and India though of course not by Iran where after Nadir Shah's catastrophic fall the taste changed under the Gajars. Bedil's indirect method has visible signs in his character too. He used to keep an iron rod (Mawla) in his hands (4), and was self conceived from this originated his style, which slid towards his pupil

(Wadip) and disappeared. His coinage of new expressions and introducing new similes is an achievement in the direction of language but not in the direction of emotional prose which in his case is emotionless. Intellectual gymnastic can never take the place of

emotions.

Nimat Khen-i-Ali, probably the greatest of the prose writers

of this period was a miser. His genius would have showed itself in excellent forms had he not born in an age so deteriorated, so

continued.

Notes. (1) Sharma (Mughal Empire in India) p. 635. (2) See his last letter in his --- on page. 24 beginning

(3) Arzu (Majma un Nafais) fol 56. Sarkhush p. 14. Azad. (Saru) p. 148.

(4) Azad. (Mughalistan-i-Fare) p. 177.

He did not save himself from both over-accentuation and under-accentuation. Thus in his Muddhikat and letters he seldom judges the situation from the stand-point of a balanced writer of irony. His remarks are at times very subtle and at an other time hopelessly common place. He plays on a very slippery ground, at times shrewd and cunning, at times furious, at times sexy, thus indulging in all grades of mockery, satirical burlesque, satire, irony, withumour, insult, abuse, aggression, taunt and obscenity. He uses for these ends all tricks of style, fallacious reasoning, simple irony, complex irony, dramatic irony, word-play, shift of meaning, ambiguity of speech, twist of situation, distortion of fact, parading of absurdities (at times according to the situation and very often against it). He tried to improve upon the methods of Khurram and was successful in Waqai while in other prose pieces (exceeding a dozen) he was not able to lift himself above the ordinary level of a Hazl writer. His accentricities set him to over-doings and over emphasizings. In Waqai these elements are astonishingly appropriate to the situation and culminate in to a harmonic affect. In Waqai he blows a lively wind of ironical outlook that baffles all sense of judgement and all powers of reasoning by the sudden and unexpected indirect appeals to our convictions. If the picture frames' of school boys recitations showing their head at the end of every chapter be set aside the Waqai Nimat Khan is one of the best prose pieces of Persian literature. Never has irony been used as a weapon against misconception and wrong judgements, in such a perfect manner in Persian literature before Nimat Khan. Ubaid Zakani's prose pieces are frank and spontaneous, they are natives in the land of humour and have "no suggestion of cunning or malicious after-thought" (1)

which is the chief characteristic of irony. Therefore we cannot compare him with Ali. Ali has employed irony successfully against the thoughts of Aurangzeb rather than his person. He had every occasion and actions to fall headlong into personal insults but he saved himself by ridiculing Aurangzeb's ideas and convictions, and for these ends he has made the characters his mouth pieces.

Notes. (1) The definition of irony has very excellently been brought about by Turner (Elements of Irony in English Literature) chapter 4. p. 63.

Thus his *Waqe'at* is a master piece of exceptional qualities.

In Iran besides the two writers *Mirza Malik Nashadi* (1) and

*Mirza Muhammad Tahir* (2) two other stylists were *Tahir Wahid* and

*Zahir Tarishi*. The present writer finds no occasion to refute the

judgement pronounced by *Muhammad Husain Azad* (3) on *Zahir Tahir*

*Wahid* deserves praise for his not indulging into fashions of the moment.

ent. He had a style. His prose has a majesty about it. No wonder if

his work has been used as a course for study at schools. But his

place as an emotional prose writer is, we are reluctant to declare,

not very high.

Notes. (1) *Azad*. (Sarw) p. 59.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 144.

(3) *Azad*. (Sakhsundari-Pars) Lecture Fourth.

V. P. S. K. D. I. X. S.



V P E N D I X S.

Vol. I. d. 523; Bod. I.

Bod.

1020



ON THE ART OF INSHA (IN PERSIAN).

The books of Insha literature have been omitted which had in their introductions, brief remarks about either the principles of this art or the technique of letter-writing. But those books, where in full a chapter has been devoted to the art of Insha have been included in this list. Six encyclopaedias have also been referred to : 1. INSHAI-FIRDAWSI :

Wrongly attributed Firdawsi, belongs to the later Mughal period. Asafiyah Library cat.

2. CHAHAR MAQALAH \* Nizami Arudi (551 A.H.) a chapter on the art of Dehli.

3. KISALAI INSHA (?) Shaphor Mithapuri (d. 600 A.H.) no more extant.

4. QABUS NAMA \* Kalkeas one chapter (39th) devoted to Kitabat.

5. SIASAT NAMA \* Nizam-ul-Mulk. one chapter (15th) devoted to this art.

6. AT TAWASUL ILAL TARASUL: Bahai Baghdadi the whole of the introduction has been devoted to the art of

Insha.

7. IJAZ-1-KHUSRAWI: or--- Amir Khusrav (716 or 719 A.H.) First 4



Rheu Vol. II. p. 808; IV. A.S.B. p. 149;  
Osmania University Lib. No. 1170. Asalya  
p. 134, & P.U.L.

Mehmud Gawan (?) Shafrant. P.U.L. No. 682.  
Husain Waliz al Kashfi (d. 910 A.H.). The  
rough sketch of Makhzan-ul-Insha. On the  
technique of letter writing. Bod. L. Cat.  
p. 873 & P.U.L.

Do. On the art of literary composition.  
14. MAKHZAN UL INSHA:

Rheu. Vol. II. p. 528.  
15. THE TREATISE ON THE ART Sh. Muhammad. b. Shams-ud-Din (A.H. 995)  
OF INSHA:

India Office. p. 1599.

16. LAFAIF UL INSHA:

Authors Between A.H. 926-974. technique of  
letter writing in Iran and Turkey. Bod.

L. Cat. p. 839.

17. INSHA-1-JARABUS SIRYAN: Nur ud Din. p. 1143.

18. MUNSHA'AT IL NAMAKIN: Abul Hasan Khan (A.H. 1006) Ind office.

p. 1141.

19. INSHA-1-AYAR-1-DAMISH: Nur-ud-Din Ethe. p. 1143.

20. INSHA-IKHWANZAD KHAN: (1) Asan Ullah Husaini (d. 1044 A.H.) or (1046)

Ind. office. p. 1147 & p. 877 II foll. 52-53

21. HISALAHDER INSHA WAGHAIKAM: \*

Encyclopaedic contents with special attention  
on paid to poetries, versification, questions

us of style and calligraphy. Kamal-ud-Din

(1069 A.H.) cc A.S.B. p. 126.

22. KHUD KASHTA:

Mulla Tughra on the art of writing. Rheu.

Vol. II. p. 742. foll. 195-207.

23. INSHA:

An anonymous treatise on epistolography,

before 1100 A.H. Ind office. p. 1167.

24. DAD-1-SAKHUN:

Khen-1-Arzu (about 1109 A.H.) Av. A.S.B.

p. 170 & P.U.L.

Notes: \*Books with this mark are encyclopaedic-

las.

(1) This book is Insha literature and has

wrongly been inserted in works on the art

of Insha by Ethe.

(Corrections, Amendments &amp; Additional Notes).

CHAPTER 1.

Bahar's Subk Shanaat suggests the following amendments and

100-443887-100

Dabir is Duplicar, Dupa means the script of the guniform

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(Vol. I, p. 68) while Pin Dapir or Daun Dapirya meant the religious script where in Dupl Varyah is a compound (Dupl (script) and var (sign of Fall) and Yeh (Ya-I-Masdar)) meaning religious script.

Dup in fact was Dub of Sumr. (✓) Language, it was changed in the

Dup by the people of Babylon. Its adjectival form Duplvar was changed

into Debt in the Debt Language. It has variously been recorded by

the Arabs as Deblriyah, Dehri, Deirah. The words Deblstam Deblis-

ten, Diwan and Dattar are all with Dupl (vol. I, p. 81.) affixed to

them.

Agenda on p. 98 of the same.

و این معنی از جمله اولی  
در آیه اولی از انجیل آمده است  
که در آنجا که می گویند که  
ما را در این دنیا هیچ چیز نیست  
و ما را در آنجا که می رود  
همه چیز هست و این معنی از  
جمله اولی از انجیل آمده است

which suggests that Datta stands for the style of transcription

rather than the script itself (just as in Post Islamic) period we have

the Teliq, Mastelq, Shikastah and Naskh). It shows that a change had

occurred in the use of the word when Iran proceeded from the rule of

Achaeans to that of the Sassanians.

CHAPTER, II.

(1) WASNU. Baher points out the following article in the Pahlavi

Literature itself. - Bliss - Vol. 1 - Vol. 2 - Vol. 3 - Vol. 4 - Vol. 5 - Vol. 6 - Vol. 7 - Vol. 8 - Vol. 9 - Vol. 10 - Vol. 11 - Vol. 12 - Vol. 13 - Vol. 14 - Vol. 15 - Vol. 16 - Vol. 17 - Vol. 18 - Vol. 19 - Vol. 20 - Vol. 21 - Vol. 22 - Vol. 23 - Vol. 24 - Vol. 25 - Vol. 26 - Vol. 27 - Vol. 28 - Vol. 29 - Vol. 30 - Vol. 31 - Vol. 32 - Vol. 33 - Vol. 34 - Vol. 35 - Vol. 36 - Vol. 37 - Vol. 38 - Vol. 39 - Vol. 40 - Vol. 41 - Vol. 42 - Vol. 43 - Vol. 44 - Vol. 45 - Vol. 46 - Vol. 47 - Vol. 48 - Vol. 49 - Vol. 50 - Vol. 51 - Vol. 52 - Vol. 53 - Vol. 54 - Vol. 55 - Vol. 56 - Vol. 57 - Vol. 58 - Vol. 59 - Vol. 60 - Vol. 61 - Vol. 62 - Vol. 63 - Vol. 64 - Vol. 65 - Vol. 66 - Vol. 67 - Vol. 68 - Vol. 69 - Vol. 70 - Vol. 71 - Vol. 72 - Vol. 73 - Vol. 74 - Vol. 75 - Vol. 76 - Vol. 77 - Vol. 78 - Vol. 79 - Vol. 80 - Vol. 81 - Vol. 82 - Vol. 83 - Vol. 84 - Vol. 85 - Vol. 86 - Vol. 87 - Vol. 88 - Vol. 89 - Vol. 90 - Vol. 91 - Vol. 92 - Vol. 93 - Vol. 94 - Vol. 95 - Vol. 96 - Vol. 97 - Vol. 98 - Vol. 99 - Vol. 100 - Vol. 101 - Vol. 102 - Vol. 103 - Vol. 104 - Vol. 105 - Vol. 106 - Vol. 107 - Vol. 108 - Vol. 109 - Vol. 110 - Vol. 111 - Vol. 112 - Vol. 113 - Vol. 114 - Vol. 115 - Vol. 116 - Vol. 117 - Vol. 118 - Vol. 119 - Vol. 120 - Vol. 121 - Vol. 122 - Vol. 123 - Vol. 124 - Vol. 125 - Vol. 126 - Vol. 127 - Vol. 128 - Vol. 129 - Vol. 130 - Vol. 131 - Vol. 132 - Vol. 133 - Vol. 134 - Vol. 135 - Vol. 136 - Vol. 137 - Vol. 138 - Vol. 139 - Vol. 140 - Vol. 141 - Vol. 142 - Vol. 143 - Vol. 144 - Vol. 145 - Vol. 146 - Vol. 147 - Vol. 148 - Vol. 149 - Vol. 150 - Vol. 151 - Vol. 152 - Vol. 153 - Vol. 154 - Vol. 155 - Vol. 156 - Vol. 157 - Vol. 158 - Vol. 159 - Vol. 160 - Vol. 161 - Vol. 162 - Vol. 163 - Vol. 164 - Vol. 165 - Vol. 166 - Vol. 167 - Vol. 168 - Vol. 169 - Vol. 170 - Vol. 171 - Vol. 172 - Vol. 173 - Vol. 174 - Vol. 175 - Vol. 176 - Vol. 177 - Vol. 178 - Vol. 179 - Vol. 180 - Vol. 181 - Vol. 182 - Vol. 183 - Vol. 184 - Vol. 185 - Vol. 186 - Vol. 187 - Vol. 188 - Vol. 189 - Vol. 190 - Vol. 191 - Vol. 192 - Vol. 193 - Vol. 194 - Vol. 195 - Vol. 196 - Vol. 197 - Vol. 198 - Vol. 199 - Vol. 200 - Vol. 201 - Vol. 202 - Vol. 203 - Vol. 204 - Vol. 205 - Vol. 206 - Vol. 207 - Vol. 208 - Vol. 209 - Vol. 210 - Vol. 211 - Vol. 212 - Vol. 213 - Vol. 214 - Vol. 215 - Vol. 216 - Vol. 217 - Vol. 218 - Vol. 219 - Vol. 220 - Vol. 221 - Vol. 222 - Vol. 223 - Vol. 224 - Vol. 225 - Vol. 226 - Vol. 227 - Vol. 228 - Vol. 229 - Vol. 230 - Vol. 231 - Vol. 232 - Vol. 233 - Vol. 234 - Vol. 235 - Vol. 236 - Vol. 237 - Vol. 238 - Vol. 239 - Vol. 240 - Vol. 241 - Vol. 242 - Vol. 243 - Vol. 244 - Vol. 245 - Vol. 246 - Vol. 247 - Vol. 248 - Vol. 249 - Vol. 250 - Vol. 251 - Vol. 252 - Vol. 253 - Vol. 254 - Vol. 255 - Vol. 256 - Vol. 257 - Vol. 258 - Vol. 259 - Vol. 260 - Vol. 261 - Vol. 262 - Vol. 263 - Vol. 264 - Vol. 265 - Vol. 266 - Vol. 267 - Vol. 268 - Vol. 269 - Vol. 270 - Vol. 271 - Vol. 272 - Vol. 273 - Vol. 274 - Vol. 275 - Vol. 276 - Vol. 277 - Vol. 278 - Vol. 279 - Vol. 280 - Vol. 281 - Vol. 282 - Vol. 283 - Vol. 284 - Vol. 285 - Vol. 286 - Vol. 287 - Vol. 288 - Vol. 289 - Vol. 290 - Vol. 291 - Vol. 292 - Vol. 293 - Vol. 294 - Vol. 295 - Vol. 296 - Vol. 297 - Vol. 298 - Vol. 299 - Vol. 300 - Vol. 301 - Vol. 302 - Vol. 303 - Vol. 304 - Vol. 305 - Vol. 306 - Vol. 307 - Vol. 308 - Vol. 309 - Vol. 310 - Vol. 311 - Vol. 312 - Vol. 313 - Vol. 314 - Vol. 315 - Vol. 316 - Vol. 317 - Vol. 318 - Vol. 319 - Vol. 320 - Vol. 321 - Vol. 322 -

This would suggest that Mann was not at all foreign to the

SOIL OF ITHA.

(11) Abul Fadl on Style, Insha-1-Abul Fadl Dattar III, p. 283, sq.







(1) The Kitab Yamini (Al Utbi) pp. 450 Eng. Tr. by Reynolds.

"In those days, nearly twenty thousands men had come from the plains of Nawarannahr, through zeal for Islam, and they sat down waiting the time for the Sultan's movements, striking their numerous swords and uttering the shout of the holy war, "God is great" they deliberately placed their lives in the palm of their hands and as to their bodies they held them by his enhancing bounty, in the market of the verse, "God hath bought from the believers their lives and their property"---(Kuran) their carving zeal and stirring ideas inflamed and excited the purpose of the Sultan, and he desired to proceed with those troops to Kanuj".

(11) For Bahar's views on the Dard See Sakb Shamsi Vol. I. pp. 19-29. where in he has proved that Dard is the spoken language of the inhabitants of Khurasan, Transoxians, Nimruz and Zabulistan while Pahlawi is the language of the Western parts of Iran (see. Ibid p. 22) and that the compositions of Rudaki, Shahid, Mirdawsi, Balami and Abu Nuwayid are in the Dard. He further says:

در زبان داری که در این کتاب آمده است  
و در این کتاب آمده است که در این زبان  
در این کتاب آمده است که در این زبان  
در این کتاب آمده است که در این زبان

CHAPTER. V.

Sa'adi the Urdu poet: It has wroughly been asserted by Gayam-ud-Din Ghalib in his Makhzan-i-Mikat (p. 2. Anjuman ed. 1929) that Saadi was a poet of Urdu language. His contemporary Mir Taqi Mir in his Mikat us Shohra (p. 103. ed. 2nd. 1935) tells us about Saadi of Dm. in the following words:

در این کتاب آمده است که در این زبان  
در این کتاب آمده است که در این زبان

Qudrat Ullah Ghalib in his Majma-i-Naghaz (Shairani ed. 1933) p. 298 says that Saadi the Urdu poet has no connection with Saadi

of Shiraz what so ever, and that the Saadi of Rehkhta belonged to the Deccan and was contemporary with Waili. Badsuni (vol. III. p. 42

records another Saadi who wrote verses in the Persian language and

died in 1002 A.H.

#### CHAPTER VI.

Insha-1-Muin-1-Zamchi ? (Zamchi ?) only two manuscript copies

of this work are known to me viz. Rthe ( India office) p. 11031

No. 2041 and Punjab University Library (Shairani collected = uncat-

alogued ) No. 231. It comprises 119 foll. For biographical notice,

apart from his own account in the introduction of the book and that

of Rthe in India office catalogue, the author has been mentioned by

Doct Muhammad in his Helat-1-Hunarwan (952 A.H.) p. 14 as Maulana

Muin Istarzi the pupil of Maulana Abdul Hayy the calligraphist (ed. by

Abdullah Chagatal) as a famous munshi, competent in Farsi, the author

of a history of Harat and the compiler of a compendium on Epistolog-

raphy. The present manuscript was transcribed by two scribes, first

16 folios by some Sayyid Ali Asghar and the rest by Ali Akbar. There

are several lacunae (foll 81 to 88, 97 to 102, 111 to 117 and a few

concluding pages are wanting.) The letters are mostly state documents

and when studied along with Amul's Helat's ul Funun (chapters on

Insha and Istifa) reveal completely the working of the administrative

machinery of the period. From the previous Persian poets the verses

of Nizami and Saadi have been quoted. The opening chapter of the book

shows clear traces of authors having read Nizami Arudi's Chahar

Magalah. The story of Mamun on fol 7 b. is an abridgement of the

same story in Gibb Edition of Chahar Magalah p. 19. (at places even

the sentences are the same), Isakfi's story (on fol 7 b. cf. 15 Gibb

ed.) and Mahmud's story (on fol 8 a. cf. 13. Gibb. ed.) are abridged

reproductions of the same. The last chapter is important for a story

about Jaml (119 a.) and another about Khwaju of Kirman (119 b) Zamchi

was a contemporary of Jaml and several letters in the text have been

addressed to him.

#### CHAPTER VII.

Bartold (Musalman Culture) pp. 143, 144.

" The Islamic powers of that epoch were compelled to accord the first

place to military affairs and support those elements of the populati-

on in whom they found military help even at the sacrifice of cultural

interests. The Osmanli dynasty, which was quite indifferent to

religion at the beginning and had been given to



derwish free thinking, was forced under the stress of circumstances to renew the traditions of militant Islam---The same tendencies were operative in Persia where the founder of the Safavid dynasty proclaimed Shi'ism to his state religion and there-by offered a pretext to his Sunni neighbours, the Osmanli in the west and Uzbeks in the East, to declare a religious war on it. From the XVI. th century the struggle between the Shi'ites and the Sunnis took a cruel turn, such as had not existed during the Middle Ages. For the first time Sunnis and Shi'ites, being themselves on the opinions of their theologians, refused to recognise one or other as Muslims. Militant Shi'ism became for Persia a sort of political Palladium".

#### CHAPTER. VIII.

(1) Sharma (A bibliography) pp. 98, 99, 100 (No. 196) "Hugast-1-

Hasan (Rampur. MS.) by Abul Hasan, Secretary to the Governor of Orissa (1655-1670) was compiled in 1669-1670. It contains a detailed history of Orissa not to be found else where. The duties of provincial officers, Mughal revenue practices, destruction of temples by Aurangzeb's orders and relations between Mughal officers serving in different departments are all reflected here--The Mughal Governor of Orissa,---exercised control over his Bakshi to the extent of demanding his presence at a particular place with all relevant papers. In view of the fact that the cultivators in Mughal India are supposed to have enjoyed the right of challenging the State demand of land revenue, it is interesting to find here the Zamindars of Orissa so challenging the demand of land revenue and insisting on a survey of the land and the preparation of estimate of the produce. The case seems to have gone against them; they were fined Rs. 5000".

(11) Ibid. p. 100.

"The Insha-i-Hamidat Din (MS. Sarkar) in its 313 pp. covers the

reign of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. The last date mentioned is 1677.

Its author was Fajdar of Julundur. He was present at the siege of

Golkonda in 1655-56, and served as the Deputy Governor of Malwa----

There are letters referring to disturbances in Malwa, the Doab and

Bihar. It depicts the plight of the inhabitants of the Julundur Doab

under Aurangzeb. A hindu from Hoshiaarpur (in the Punjab) was converted

to Islam. After living as a muslim for some time, he was converted to

Hinduism. On this being reported to the Mughal authorities,

he was arrested and subsequently imprisoned. The Hindus of Hoshiarpur closed their shops as a mark of protest and a good deal of diplomacy

had to be used before business was resumed".

(111) p. 98: Miya-1-Idrak of Tughra... contains a letter of Gazi Nur ullah to Abul Fadl. (Asiatic Society of Bengal MS).

(iv) Rugsat-1-Mulz-1-Firat. P.U.L. MS.

The MS. comprises seven folios. The front page (1. a) is an end of

an anthology (probably by Mulz) and contains besides a passage in Bahr-1-Tawil the chronograms on the deaths of Hariz and Saadi, Mangut and

Na-Mangut verses and a rare poetic contest between Ubald and Amir

Khusrav. The anthologist has confused Ubald with Ubald Zakani. The

same mistake occurs in Dr. I.H. Guralah's excellent book "The Admin-

istration of the Delhi Sultanate" p. 182. For the biography of Ubald

see Shihindi (Tarikh-1-Mubarak Shahi) p. 95, where the author tells

us that Ubald was envious of Khusrav. He (Ubald) was the disciple of

Nizam-ud-Din. The verses contained in the present MS are:

<p>(کذا) در این کتاب در وصف          حضرت علی بن ابی طالب          و در وصف حضرت فاطمه          و در وصف حضرت زینب          و در وصف حضرت سید الشهدا          و در وصف حضرت ائمه اطهار          و در وصف حضرت باقر          و در وصف حضرت محمد باقر          و در وصف حضرت مهدی</p>	<p>(کذا) در این کتاب در وصف          حضرت علی بن ابی طالب          و در وصف حضرت فاطمه          و در وصف حضرت زینب          و در وصف حضرت سید الشهدا          و در وصف حضرت ائمه اطهار          و در وصف حضرت باقر          و در وصف حضرت محمد باقر          و در وصف حضرت مهدی</p>
---	---

Besides this, the original work consists of Muswi Khan's private

letters (9 letters in all) and the preface to his Diwan. The first

letter is to Aurangzeb on his victory over Bijapur. A majority of

letters is to Mirza Abdul Latif. The work ends on 5 b. The rest of the

copy contains two incomplete Mathnawis, one incomplete Saqi Namah, a

(verified) tale and a few odes (by Muswi Khan).

(v) Gati1 (Hafz Tamasha) p. 33.

در این کتاب در وصف  
 حضرت علی بن ابی طالب  
 و در وصف حضرت فاطمه  
 و در وصف حضرت زینب  
 و در وصف حضرت سید الشهدا  
 و در وصف حضرت ائمه اطهار  
 و در وصف حضرت باقر  
 و در وصف حضرت محمد باقر  
 و در وصف حضرت مهدی

(vi) Munshat-i-Mulla Sati (alive in 1136 A.H.) specimens of letters and other pieces in ornate prose. Eth. p. 1596 No. 2942. "He is no doubt the same Mulla Sati whose petition to Shah Bahadur for a Jagir has got by a mysterious accident into the B. Museum copy of Mulla

"Tughra".

#### CHAPTER II.

Though in prose literature the adoption of Masnu as a regular form dates from the days of the Seljuks but its recognition in works of rhetoric we come across as early as the Gharnawid period. See p. 134 of Muhammad b. Umar ar-Radwiyani's work *Tarjuman ul-Balaghah* (often attributed to Farrukhi) for these forms of Sajja. Hashid-i-Wat'wat closely followed this author in cataloguing Sajja, Tamatur (see *ibid.* p. 135, p. 34) *Tarai* (p. 7) *Ist'arat* (p. 40) and other artifices under the single heading *Sanat*. The works, as told by the author at many places in the book (e.g. p. 134, 27, 7) is for poets and scribes (Dabir).



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Notes. \* See also bibliographical footnotes to the text, where

besides the books referred above more than hundred works have been mentioned e.g., Wright, Turner, Ferguson, Iqbal, Huzinga, Nusheri, Freud, Adler, Elliot, Haig, Muhammad Salih, Gaskell, Karl Mannheim, Sarkar etc. etc.

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